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HISTORICAL SKETCHES
OF THE
MISSIONS
OF THE
UNITED BRETHREN
FOR
PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL
AMONG THE
HEATHEN,

FROM THEIR COMMENCEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME.

~~~~~  
BY JOHN HOLMES, 1767 - 1843  
*Minister of the Brethren's Congregation in Dublin.*

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DUBLIN:

Printed by R. Napper, 140, Capel-Street;

AND SOLD BY DUGDALE, KEENE, MILLIKEN, ARCHER, &c.

ALSO BY SEELY, 169, FLEET-STREET, LONDON; AND

ROBERTSON, 7, PARLIAMENT-SQUARE, EDINBURGH.

1818.

Price 7s. 6d.

BV
2560
.H75

PREFACE.

THE Narrative of the Missions of the United Brethren, contained in the following sheets, was undertaken in consequence of many and repeated inquiries for such a work; and in consideration, that the cordial and active interest in the missionary labours of the Brethren, excited, of late years, among many sincere friends, who are not members of their church, seemed to require the publication of a work, which should supply a concise history of *all* the attempts, made by them, at different times, and in various countries, for the propagation of christianity among the Heathen.

Influenced by these considerations, and encouraged by many of his friends, the author entered upon the compilation of his work; and, after previous correspondence with several of his brethren in the ministry, and having obtained their approbation, and the assurance of their assistance and prayers for its success, prepared it for publication. Whatever shall be its ultimate reception from the public, he feels the sincerest pleasure in ascribing much of the success, which has attended his labours in compiling it, under God, to the countenance and faithful prayers of his brethren and friends.

Aware of many imperfections in his performance, the author must entreat indulgence, particularly with regard to the style, which, in many places, especially where his

information has been derived from German works, may appear harsh, and defective in ease and harmony, to an English reader. For one thing, however, he can vouch,—and on this he would rest his principal claim to the attention of the Public,—the facts, he has related, are all derived from the most authentic sources. Some of these are already before the Public ; e. gr. the Histories of the Missions in Greenland and North America. Others, though published several years ago in Germany, have not yet been translated into English.

On the arrangement of the several parts of the work, he deems it unnecessary to say much. His object has been, to give a faithful relation of events in each mission, in chronological order. While but cursorily noticing general occurrences, which were nearly the same in every period and place, he has narrated, at greater length, those facts, which more strikingly exhibit the benign effects of the gospel in the converts, or exemplify the piety and fortitude of the missionaries. An apology may be required for occasional repetition, and even identity of expression, when occurrences, in every respect similar, formed the subject of the relation, not only in different Missions, but at separate periods in the same mission.

In some parts the narrative may perhaps appear redundant ; a defect, which the author felt himself unable wholly to avoid, without making his performance a mere register of names and dates ; and thus depriving the reader of a knowledge of those facts, which, even in their minuter circumstances, display the operations of a divine hand.

The addition of a few prefatory remarks to each chapter, on the geographical situation, the climate, and other particulars of the country, and its inhabitants, to which the subsequent missionary history relates, as well as the

Concluding Observations, appeared necessary to render the narrative more intelligible to the less informed reader. This addition has unavoidably increased the size of the book, and enhanced its price, beyond the author's original intention. He, however, hopes, that he is still offering it at a price, sufficiently moderate, to suit the convenience of most purchasers, who feel an interest in the subject.

If by the Divine blessing, the work shall, even in the remotest degree, subserve the cause of Missions among the Heathen, the author's utmost wish will be granted. His fervent prayer is, that the exertions, made in the present age, by christians of every denomination, for the propagation of the gospel, both at home and abroad, may be abundantly blessed by the great Head of his universal church, till every part of the habitable globe shall see the salvation of God, and all the kindreds of the earth join in one harmonious song of praise to HIM, WHO LOVED US, AND WASHED US FROM OUR SINS IN HIS OWN BLOOD.

June 5th, 1818.

*List of Works, used in the Compilation of the following
Sketches.*

1. History of Greenland, by David Crantz. Translated from the German.
2. History of the Mission among the Indians in North America, by G. H. Loskiel. Translated from the German by J. C. Latrobe.
3. History of the Brethren, by David Crantz. Translated from the German by Benjamin Latrobe.
4. Continuation of this Work, in 3 Volumes, in German. Not yet translated into English.
5. Select Narratives, extracted from the History of the Unitas Fratrum, in 2 parts, by Jeremiah Risler. Only the first part has been translated into English.
6. Periodical Account, relating to the Missions of the United Brethren, in six Volumes.
7. Brief Account of the Mission among the Esquimaux Indians.
8. Journal of a Voyage of Discovery from Okkak in Labrador to Ungava Bay.
9. Account of the Manner in which the Unitas Fratrum preach the Gospel, and carry on their Missions. Translated from the German.

ERRATA.

- P. 16. l. 5. *for former read latter; and for latter read former.*
- 98.—14. *for settlements read settlement.*
- 144.— 4. *for heaving read having; and for harty read hearty.*
- 182.—22. *dele so.*
- 285.— 2. *for man read men.*
- 285.—12. *for we read me.*
- 287.—34. *for justly deemed, read justly be deemed.*
- 320.—37. *for besides read and.*
- 324. Note * *for their read these.*
- 346. l. 23. *for service read services.*
- 360.—26. *for years read year.*
- 376.—18. *for 1805 read 1795.*
- 384.—25. *for rivers read inns.*
- 398.— 7. *dele ; after hasty.*
- 422.—20. *for Bonat, read Bonatz.*

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INTRODUCTION.

THE declaration of our blessed Saviour, *the kingdom of God cometh not with observation*; may with great propriety be applied to the Missions of the United Brethren. Their attempts to bring the Heathen to the knowledge of God and our Saviour commenced in a manner so obscure and unostentatious, as generally to elude the notice of all, but their own immediate connexions and particular friends; and they had exerted themselves, for several years, in this labour of love, before the attention of their fellow-christians, in other denominations, was attracted to this great object. But while the world at large, either remained totally ignorant of these exertions, or treated the scheme with silent contempt or open ridicule; the Brethren, unappalled by contempt and calumny and a thousand difficulties, which impeded their progress, pursued with unabating zeal what to them appeared the path of duty. The love of Christ constrained them to obey his command: *Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature*, and the gracious promises of his holy word animated them in their arduous work.

The origin of their Missions was attended with circumstances, singularly interesting. Count Zinzendorf*, hav-

* This pious young nobleman was the instrument employed by God, for preserving the small remnant of the ancient church of the Brethren, and renewing its constitution and discipline at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In consequence of dreadful persecutions, stirred up against them by the papists, the Brethren's congregations in Moravia, [upwards of 200 in number,] were totally destroyed, their ministers, together with many noblemen and private individuals of their church, put to death, or exiled, and their

ing gone to Copenhagen in the year 1731 to be present at the coronation of Christian VI. King of Denmark, some of his domestics became acquainted with a Negroe, called Anthony. This man told them much of the miseries endured by the Negro-slaves in the island of St. Thomas, and of the ardent desire of many, especially of his sister, to be instructed in the way of salvation. This relation deeply affected the Count, and served to revive the hope, expressed by him some years before at a public meeting in Herrnhut, that the Brethren would one day have it in their power to proclaim the gospel to the Laplanders, Negroes and Greenlanders. On his return, therefore, he took an early opportunity of mentioning this occurrence to the congregation.

Anthony, having soon after obtained leave from his master to visit Herrnhut, repeated his former relation to many of the inhabitants; but added, that the labours of the Negroes were so incessant, that they could find no leisure for religious instruction, unless their teacher himself became a slave, for the purpose of instructing them in the midst of their daily employment.

This representation afresh roused the zeal of the Brethren for the conversion of the Heathen, and they determined, that no obstacle, however apparently insurmountable, should deter them from the attempt. Two young brethren, in particular, Leonard Dober and Tobias Leupold, were so deeply impressed with the magnitude of the object, that they publicly avowed their desire and resolution to go to St. Thomas, and even to SELL THEMSELVES

bibles and other religious books burnt. Those few, who survived the persecution and faithfully adhered to their principles, were forced to conceal themselves in cellars and other obscure places, in the caves of rocks and the almost impervious thickets of the forests, where they held their religious meetings in private, and chiefly in the night, for fear of their enemies. Being informed that there was greater liberty of conscience in Saxony and Silesia, many sought an asylum in these countries. Some of these emigrants arrived in 1722 at Berthelsdorf, in upper Lusatia, an estate belonging to Count Zinsendorf, who, when he had learned the cause of their emigration, received them in the kindest manner, and encouraged and assisted them in forming a colony on a neighbouring hill, called *Hutsberg*. This colony afterwards received the name of *Hausmanns*, and became the first congregation of the renewed church of the Brethren.

AS SLAVES, in order that they might have an opportunity of preaching the gospel to the Negroes, should they find no other way of accomplishing their purpose. Tobias Leupold repeated his desire in writing, and while his letter was read to the congregation, the brethren Mathew Stach and Frederic Boenish formed the resolution of offering themselves to go to Greenland.*

A sacred impulse to missionary labours was thus imparted to the congregation at Herrnhut by the great head of his universal church, who, in the unerring counsels of his wisdom and love, designed the Brethren to become the honoured instruments of publishing the saving name of Jesus to many savage tribes, and sowing the gospel-seed on soils the most barren and unpromising. The impulse, thus granted, operated most powerfully, for though the colony at Herrnhut, at the time of commencing this great work, consisted of only six-hundred persons, and these mostly poor exiles; yet neither their external poverty nor the smallness of their number could damp their zeal or relax their ardour. Having given themselves unto the Lord, they were disposed to offer to him also their talents and their substance, fully persuaded that it is nothing with the Lord, whether to help with many, or with them that have no power, and that with his blessing upon their exertions, a little one would become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation.

Supported by this conviction they cheerfully encountered every difficulty, and endured the severest hardships in distant countries and among barbarous tribes, with a spirit of self-denial, patience and fortitude, which clearly manifested, that they were willing even to hazard their lives for the name of the Lord Jesus.

Within the short period of ten years missionaries went to St. Thomas, to St. Croix, to Greenland, to Surinam, to the Rio de Berbice, to several Indian tribes in North America, to the Negroes in South Carolina, to Lapland, to Tartary, to Algiers, to Guinea, to the Cape

* Brethren's Hist. Vol. i. p. 149. Riser, Part 2, Sec. i. p. 19.

of Good Hope and to Ceylon: and since that time missionaries have been sent to the islands of St. John, Jamaica, Antigua, Barbadoes, St. Kitt's and Tobago in the West Indies; to Paramaribo and other places in South America; to Persia, to Egypt, to Labrador, to Tranquebar and the Nicobar Islands.

In several of these places, their attempts have proved unsuccessful. In some instances the missionaries, sent out, never reached the place of their destination; in others the political state of the country, to which they went, rendered their immediate return an imperious duty; and in one or two cases they were compelled to relinquish their benevolent design, after years of patient perseverance and heroic fortitude, spent in fruitless endeavours to impress the importance of the gospel upon the wretched natives.

These partial failures, however, did not paralise their exertions; for while the want of success, in some cases, had a tendency to humble and preserve them from vain glory in their own strength, the divine blessing, which attended their labours in other places, quickened their diligence, maintained their confidence in the Lord, and disposed them to ascribe all the glory unto *Him*. And the experience of more than eighty years, during which they have been engaged in this noble work, has furnished them with abundant proofs, that the cause is the Lord's, and that he is able to carry it on even by the weakest instruments. To *Him* they desire to express their warmest gratitude for the present flourishing state of most of their Missions, where the word of God is evidently glorified in *turning the Gentiles from darkness into light, and from the power of Satan unto God.*

HISTORICAL SKETCHES,

&c. &c.

CHAP. I.

MISSION IN GREENLAND.

GREENLAND is the remotest tract of land in the north, lying between Europe and America, and is divided into east and west Greenland. The eastern coast is wholly inaccessible, but the western coast has been known to Europeans for above two hundred years, though no colonies were formed there till within the last century, when the Danes erected several factories for the purpose of carrying on the whale-fishery.

The western coast, as far as it has been explored and occupied by the Danes, extends from the 59th to the 73rd degree of north latitude. It is very thinly peopled, the number of inhabitants probably not exceeding seven thousand. The whole coast is surrounded with steep and lofty cliffs, the summits of which are covered with perennial snow and ice, intersected by many bays and defended by innumerable larger and smaller islands. In some of the latter and also in the valleys on the main land, there is a little vegetation, consisting of grass, a few hardy flowers, various kinds of berry-bearing shrubs and low brush-wood, but in general the soil is barren and unproductive.

The want of large timber is in some measure compensated by the *Drift-wood*, which floats in great quantities into the bays and islands, and serves the Europeans for fuel, and the natives for building their houses, tents and boats.

The climate in this country is intensely cold, sometimes so severe that beer and even brandy freeze in a room heated by a stove; but the air is generally serene and pure, and bracing to European constitutions. The bays and the water between the islands are seldom frozen for any length of time, and some winters they remain open the whole season. This is of great advantage to the Greenlanders, as their principal subsistence is derived from fishing. In very severe winters therefore they mostly experience a famine. The summer seldom lasts above four months, and even then it frequently snows, and the frost never leaves the ground entirely, as the rays of the sun seldom penetrate above a foot below the surface. Yet the heat in summer is some days as great as in any part of England or Germany. In summer there is scarce any night, as the sun does not remain above two or three hours below the horizon, and from the tops of the mountains his beams are reflected even at midnight, so that a person may read and write in a room without the aid of a candle. And though the winter nights are proportionally long, yet the darkness is considerably lessened by the stronger light of the moon, the prevalence of the *aurora borealis*, (or northern lights,) and by reflections from the ice and snow.

The natives are of a tawny hue and low stature, with very dark and black eyes, and long and strong hair. They are clad the whole year round in fur-dresses, made of the skins of seals and reindeer, very neatly sewed by the women. Their dwellings are of two kinds; first, tents, which are covered with seal-skins, and constitute their summer habitations; secondly, winter-houses constructed of large stones, the walls being a yard in thickness and the crevices filled up with earth and sods. The roof is made with a few uprights, crossbeams and laths, every opening being stopped up with heath. Over this are

spread sods and earth, and the whole covered with old skins. The inside-breadth of such a house is generally twelve feet, but its length varies from twenty four to seventy two feet, according to the number of its inmates. The cieling is so low that it barely admits of a man standing upright in it. The entrance is by a long, low passage, through which you must rather creep than walk; but this is well calculated to keep out the cold. Four, or even ten families live together in such a house, each having its own apartments, separated from the rest by a skreen made of skins. In every apartment a lamp is kept constantly burning, which lights and heats it, and serves the purpose of cooking their victuals. Great cleanliness indeed must not be looked for in their houses; and the constant smell of the train-oil is very disagreeable to Europeans. Yet the contentment of the Greenlanders, amidst this poverty, and the order and stillness observed among them, where so many dwell together, cannot but excite admiration.

They have two sorts of boats; the one called *woman's* or *skin-boat*, and the other *kajak*. The latter is eighteen feet long, terminating in a point at each end, in the middle eighteen inches broad, and but one foot in depth. It is covered on all sides, above and below with seal-skin, leaving an aperture in the middle, in which the Greenlanders seats himself, lacing the skin of the boat so tightly round his waist, that no water can penetrate. Such is their dexterity in managing the kajak, that, if it even upset, they can right it again by a single stroke of the paddle, which they use for rowing. In this manner they scud over the waves, even in tempestuous weather, with astonishing celerity, and not unfrequently make a voyage of twenty leagues in a day. Seated in his kajak, equipped with his bow and arrow, his harpoon and other implements for catching seals, the Greenlanders feels not a little proud of his skill, and looks down upon the arts of Europeans with supercilious contempt.

The skin-boat is much larger, being from forty to fifty feet long, and proportionally broad and deep. The skeleton is made of thin laths, tightly fixed together and

covered with soft leather of seal-skins, so that no water can penetrate. It is entirely managed and rowed by women, and capable of containing ten or twelve persons, together with their luggage and provisions. In these boats the natives travel from one place to another, and often perform voyages of several hundred leagues. The skeletons both of the skin-boat and the kajak are constructed by the men, but the covering of them is the work of the women. These have likewise the management of all domestic concerns, and very early accustom their daughters to industry. The men and boys spend most of their time in acquiring the art of managing the kajak and catching seals, which expose them to frequent dangers and many perils at sea.

Nothing like a regular government, or organized system of laws, exists among the natives; they however adhere to certain traditionary usages, and exhibit more of a moral and peaceable character than most other savage nations. Their notions of God and religion are likewise extremely limited, being confined to some general but very indistinct ideas of two great spirits: the one good and benevolent; the other evil and wicked. In their pagan state they evince but little desire to obtain any knowledge of either the good or the evil spirit, except their *angekoks* or sorcerers. These are a set of deceivers who pretend to have intercourse with the great spirit, by means of a *torngak* or inferior spirit, and who by their tricks play upon the ignorance and superstition of the credulous.

To a foreigner the acquisition of the Greenland language is not an easy task. For though very regular in its construction, it has no affinity to any other known language. It is very copious in words and phrases, relating to things about which they are conversant, but for religious and scientific subjects it affords scarce any terms, which rendered it exceedingly difficult for the missionaries to discourse with them on these topics till after the conversion of some of them, who soon found appropriate phrases by which to express the new ideas, awakened in their minds.

Notwithstanding the rigours of the climate and the sterility of the soil, the missionaries have succeeded in laying out gardens, in which they grow lettuce, cabbages, radishes, turnips and a few other early vegetables. However, as they cannot be sown before June, and killing frosts commence again in September, they remain small, but have a fine flavour. All their attempts to cultivate oats and barley have hitherto proved ineffectual, for though they spring up very fast they never come to maturity. The missionaries have also introduced the breeding of sheep and goats, though it is attended with much trouble and labour to procure hay for them for the long winter, as it must be sought for in the valleys. In Lichtenau, which is the most southern settlement, they generally keep a flock of ninety or a hundred sheep, as more grass grows there than either in New Herrnhut or Lichtenfels, where they seldom have more than twenty.

The different classes of animated nature furnish both the natives and Europeans with several sorts of wild animals, serviceable either for the table or for traffic; such as reindeer, hares, foxes, white bears, several kinds of winged game, a great variety of fishes, especially herrings, which in the beginning of summer come into the bays in such shoals, that whole boats can be filled with them in a few hours. But of all animals, peculiar to this country, none are of greater importance to the Greenlanders, than seals, of which there are five kinds. These not only constitute their principal food, but they furnish them also with clothing and bedding, with covering to their boats, tents, and houses, with oil for their lamps, and with various implements used by them in catching seals, &c. and even serve them as a medium of traffic, instead of money.

Europeans, however, must derive their chief support from Denmark, as not only their health, but their very life is endangered, if necessitated to live upon the food of the natives for any length of time. Our first missionaries experienced all the horrors of being driven to this necessity, of which the reader will find affecting proofs in the subsequent narration. But their successors have for many years been happily relieved from this distress, as an

ample supply of provisions can now be regularly sent out to them by the ships which annually arrive from Copenhagen; and for nearly eighty years they have only met with one serious and alarming disappointment in this respect.

IN the year 1732, during a discussion of the Brethren in Herrnhut, respecting the duty of Christians to send missionaries to Heathen nations, two young men, Frederic Boenish and Matthew Stach, offered themselves to go to Greenland. After minute inquiry into their motives and qualifications for such an undertaking, their offer was accepted. But nothing could be done that year with regard to the Greenlanders, as the mission to St. Thomas required all the attention and resources of the congregation. The following year, however, it was resolved no longer to defer the commencement of a mission to Greenland.

In order to effect this benevolent purpose, Matthew Stach, and his cousin Christ. Stach *, proceeded to Copenhagen early in the spring of 1733, conducted by Christian David †. Nothing can more strikingly exhibit the zeal of these devoted servants of Christ, than the truly apostolic spirit, in which they entered upon their arduous labour in his vineyard. They literally obeyed the injunction of Christ to his disciples, when he sent them out to preach the gospel: *Take nothing for your journey, neither staves nor scrip, neither bread, neither money, neither have two coats apiece.* "There was no need of much time," says one of them, "or expense for our equipment. The congregation consisted chiefly of poor exiles, who had not much to give, and we ourselves had nothing but the

* Fr. Boenish, being absent from Herrnhut on a long journey, could not then accompany his friends, but followed them the next spring, and laboured in that mission upwards of twenty-eight years.

† Christian David was a native of Moravia, and the person by whose interposition Count Zinzendorf was induced to receive the Moravian emigrants on his estate. God afterwards employed him as a blessed instrument of leading many of his persecuted countrymen to a saving knowledge of the gospel, and of promoting their emigration to Herrnhut.

clothes on our backs. We had been used to make shift with little, and did not trouble our heads how we should get to Greenland, or how we should live there. The day before our departure a friend in Venice sent a donation, and part of this we received for our journey to Copenhagen. Now we considered ourselves richly provided for, and therefore would take nothing of any one on the road, believing, that he, who had procured us something for our journey at the very critical moment, would also supply us with every thing requisite for accomplishing our purpose, whenever it should be needed *."

On their arrival in Copenhagen, they were kindly received by many friends, and met with particular cordiality from Professor Ewald, a member of the Danish Mission-college, and the Rev. Mr. Reuss, chaplain to the king. But to many their design appeared romantic and unseasonable; for as the Danish mission in Greenland had been greatly reduced, the government was rather inclined to withdraw the colony, and relinquish the mission altogether. Thus, though our brethren might proceed to Greenland with the ship, which must be sent out to bring home the colonists, their settling on that inhospitable shore would be rendered extremely unsafe and dangerous, as they would not only be left without a regular supply of provisions from Europe, but be exposed to the cruelty of the savages, who might even murder them.

This unfavourable prospect, however, did not dispirit our missionaries. They committed their cause to *him* who orders all things according to the counsel of his own will, fully persuaded that if their intentions were pleasing in his sight, *he* could be at no loss for ways and means of bringing them to Greenland, and of supporting and protecting them when landed there. In this confident hope they were not disappointed. Affairs soon took a different turn; the king consented that one more ship should go to the colony at Good-hope, where the Danish missionary, Hans Egede, resided.

* Crantz, Vol. i. p. 322.

The way being thus opened, our brethren waited on Count Pless, first lord of the bed-chamber, entreating his interest in their behalf. At first their proposal did not meet with much approbation. To a person of his rank and education, who was not ignorant of the little success which had attended the labours of the learned, indefatigable and zealous Mr. Egede, it must have appeared a wild scheme indeed, in young illiterate persons to engage in so difficult, and seemingly hopeless an undertaking. He therefore raised many objections, and sent them to some divines to be examined; but being once convinced of the soundness of their faith, and the uprightness of their intentions, he conceived a great regard for them, readily condescended to present their petition to the king, and seconded it to the utmost of his power. Among other arguments, he made use of the following, which deserves to be recorded: "God has in all ages," said he, "employed the meanest, and in the eyes of the world, the most unlikely and even despicable instruments, for accomplishing the grand designs of his kingdom, to shew that the honour belongs to *Him*, and teach mankind not to rely on their own penetration or power, but on *his* benediction*."

His exertions had the effect of inducing the king to resolve on promoting with renewed vigour the improvement of the country and the conversion of its inhabitants, and accordingly he accepted the voluntary overture of the brethren in the most gracious manner, and desired that others might soon follow those now about to sail. His majesty even condescended to recommend them to Mr. Egede, in a letter written with his own hand.

While our missionaries were preparing for their voyage, they formed pleasing acquaintances with many worthy characters and persons of distinction in Copenhagen, who not only commended their zeal, but, without their solicitation, provided them with the needful expenses for their voyage, and various necessary articles for their first settlement in Greenland†.

* Crantz, Vol. i. p. 325.

† In one of his conversations with them, count Pless asked: "How they intended to maintain themselves in Greenland?" Unacquainted with the

They sailed from Copenhagen on the 10th of April, and after a safe and speedy voyage reached the place of their destination on the 20th of May. Immediately on their arrival they repaired to the Rev. Mr. Egede, who received them with much cordiality, expressed his joy at their undertaking, and promised them all the assistance in his power, especially in learning the language.

As soon as their first interview with Mr. Egede was closed, they went to the sea-coast to search for a habitable spot. Having fixed on a place near *Ball's river*, to which they afterwards gave the name of *NEW HERRNHUT*, they kneeled down and invoked the blessing of God on themselves and their undertaking. Their first labour was to erect a small hut, to afford a shelter for themselves and what they brought with them, against the inclemency of the climate. A few days after they laid the foundation for their proper dwelling, for which they had brought the timber with them from Copenhagen. The season was remarkably in their favour, the ice and snow having melted a month sooner than usual. Besides their own house, they built one after the Greenland manner, for the accomodation of such of the natives as might be induced to come to them for instruction.

This first difficulty surmounted, others of a far heavier kind daily pressed upon them. It became needful to think of some method of maintaining themselves, and this was no easy task in a country like Greenland, and among savages, whose mode of living was filthy and disgusting in the extreme, and with whose language they were unacquainted. Our brethren, however, did not despond: they bought an old boat from the captain, who had brought them over; but the very first time they put

situation, and climate of the country; our missionaries answered: "By the labour of our hands and God's blessing;" adding, "that they would build a house and cultivate a piece of land, that they might not be burdensome to any." He objected that there was no timber fit for building in that country. "If this is the case," said our brethren, "then we will dig a hole in the earth and lodge there." Astonished at their ardour in the cause in which they had embarked, the count replied: "No; you shall not be driven to that extremity; take timber with you and build a house; accept of these fifty dollars for that purpose." *Cronst. I. 526.*

and some dried herrings to live upon, till they could get to the Europeans.

During this dreadful period our missionaries faithfully assisted Mr. Egede in visiting and taking care of the sick. The former lodged all that fled to him, and the latter accommodated as many in their house, as they had room for. But they were grieved to perceive that this severe affliction, generally speaking, made no salutary impression upon the natives, and excited no concern in them for the future and everlasting state of their souls. In a few instances, however, their kindness touched the savages, as it exceeded what they could have expected from their own countrymen. One man, in particular, who had always derided them in the days of health, made this confession before his end to Mr. Egede: "You have done for us what our own people would not do, for you have fed us when we had nothing to eat; you have buried our dead, who would else have been devoured by the dogs, foxes and ravens; you have also instructed us in the knowledge of God, and have told us of a better life." In some children also, whom he had baptized, he perceived resignation to death and a comfortable hope of a resurrection to life eternal.

No sooner had our missionaries finished their labour of love to the poor, sick and dying Greenlanders, than they were themselves attacked by a violent eruptive disorder, which so increased in the winter, that they nearly lost the use of their limbs. Providentially, however, they were not both confined at the same time. Mr. Egede behaved towards them like a father and friend, and his excellent wife never omitted sending them some refreshment or cordial, when she had any herself; indeed so great was her kindness, that they were often scrupulous of accepting her presents.

Amidst such accumulated trials did our missionaries commence their career in Greenland; yet, though their ardour might at times be damped, their zeal was not extinguished. This is evident from their own declarations. In letters addressed to their brethren in Europe, they ex-

press themselves to the following effect: "The present circumstances (referring to the contagion) appear mysterious. We know not what to pray for, whether for the life or death of these poor creatures. Perhaps God intends to preserve a holy seed in a few persons, as he did at the deluge. May the Lord teach us to believe and venerate the secret purposes of his will. At present we are in the school of faith, and the prospect before us is clouded and almost dark. We perceive no traces of any good work begun among the heathen; no, not so much as a sigh, and the poor creatures find *death* where they should find *life*. As far as respects ourselves, appearances are equally discouraging. We have not the strength and vigour of body, requisite for enduring the hardships of this country, and at present we suffer much from sickness; yet we have a persuasion that this may eventually tend to enure our constitutions to the climate, and qualify us for the Lord's service in this country. We are conscious of our total insufficiency in ourselves; every good of mere natural growth, even our alacrity in learning the language seems to droop, and nothing remains but what grace hath wrought. The Lord best knows, why he called to this station the most feeble and inexperienced of his servants. However we will remain on our post, and vie with each other in the exercise of faith, though the prospect presents us with nothing but apparent impossibilities: yes, here we will stay till Jesus our Lord helps us; and our only concern shall be to please *Him*. We have one unfailing source of hope and comfort, that God often suffers his children to pass through straits to attain the object in view, and that we are remembered in prayer by many children of God in Europe *."

Thus passed the first year of their abode in these polar regions, and for the five succeeding years their circumstances, both as to externals and their principal aim in coming to the country, were not materially altered for the better. It is not surprising, therefore, that they should at times be ready to lose courage and even consider it more advisable to return to Europe. But when in the year

* Crantz, Vol. i. p. 339.

1734 two new assistants, Frederick Boenish and John Beck arrived and brought them the joyful intelligence, that it was the intention of the brethren at Herrnhut to support the mission to the utmost of their power, their drooping faith was revived, and the flame of holy zeal in their arduous service rekindled.

They now redoubled their diligence in learning the language, and by indefatigable perseverance conquered the principal difficulties; and so far became masters of it, as to understand the natives, and converse with them on common topics; but when they wished to speak with them on religious subjects, they were greatly embarrassed; nor could they in this respect obtain much assistance from their instructors, who told them that it would not be possible to translate any, but historical pieces from scripture; as the Greenlanders had no terms for expressing spiritual and divine subjects, and could not even form the least idea of them. In some time, however, by the help of God and frequent intercourse with the natives, they overcame this last and most formidable obstacle to their usefulness.

Our missionaries continued to make frequent visits among the natives; and as they were still defective in the language, they read to them some pieces, translated by Mr. Egede, such as the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed: reminded them of what he had formerly told them of the creation of the world, and the redemption of man, and tried to rectify what they had misapprehended. They readily gave their assent to these things, but as yet attained no saving knowledge of divine truth. Once, when Matthew Stach read a short prayer to them, they observed that the language indeed was very good and intelligible, but they could not comprehend the meaning of the words, *Jesus Christ, of being redeemed by his blood, and of knowing, loving and receiving him.* By these visits, however, they gained one point of no small importance. Their free and affable, but yet prudent and serious deportment, equally removed from unbecoming levity and austere moroseness, won the esteem and confidence of the natives, so that they sought their company, constrained them to come into their houses, requested

frequent visits and promised to call upon them in return. The latter our missionaries gladly encouraged, though, as yet, it seemed to be attended with little benefit, and often proved very troublesome.

Their number having been now increased to five persons, our brethren formed some regulations among themselves, tending to their mutual edification, and the furtherance of the work in which they were engaged. They more especially agreed maturely to weigh, as in the sight of God, whether they felt a divine conviction, that he had called them to labour among the Greenlanders. After some weeks' consideration, they frankly disclosed to each other their sentiments on this important subject. The result was, that Christ. David, having only been appointed to conduct the first missionaries to the country, and being already in years and not able to learn the language, considered himself at liberty to return to Europe, but pledged himself to support the mission, wherever he might be, to the utmost of his ability. Christ. Stach, though he did not feel himself bound to devote his *whole* life to the service of the heathen, yet was willing to hold out ten years or longer, even if no fruit should arise from his labours. The three remaining missionaries declared, that they would bind themselves in the strictest manner to this work, to believe without seeing, to hope against hope, and even sacrifice their very lives to the service of the heathen.

Not long after this, the faith of these devoted servants of God was put to a new and very severe trial. Owing to some untoward circumstances the ships, which arrived in 1735, brought them no supplies from Europe. The whole stock of provisions they had in store, consisted only of a barrel and a half of oatmeal, part of which they bartered for malt, dried pease and ship-biscuits, and from this scanty portion they had to provide Christ. David with the needful sea-store for his voyage home; and as there was a scarcity of provisions in the Danish colony, they could receive little assistance from that quarter. Add to this, that they obtained far less by hunting and fishing this season, than any preceding year; thus famine stared

them in the face. In this extremity of distress, they had no resource left them, but to buy seals of the Greenlanders, as they themselves could not catch them. But these barbarians, observing the want of the missionaries, not only rated their seals very high, but even refused to sell them at all. Frequently after rowing round among them for two or three days, their utmost entreaties could procure but a scanty portion, and when that was consumed, they were obliged to pacify the cravings of nature with shell-fish and sea-weed. While they could procure a sufficiency of the former, they retained their health and strength, but when obliged to live chiefly upon the latter, they became greatly debilitated.

During their excursions, our missionaries were often exposed to the most imminent perils. Dire necessity forced them to venture out to sea in their old leaky boat, sometimes in very unsettled and stormy weather. Once having almost reached the land, they were driven back two leagues by a sudden squall, drenched in wet by the breakers, and obliged to remain till the fourth day on an island without any shelter. Another time, having quite exhausted their strength at the oars, they stopped over night in a desert place, and satisfied the calls of hunger with some seal's-flesh they had procured from a Greenlander, though they had nearly lost their appetite through fatigue and cold. Having no tent, they dug a hole in the snow and lay down, but were soon compelled to leave this retreat, as fresh snow drifted and stopped up the entrance; thus no expedient was left them, but to run up and down to keep themselves warm. Even in fair weather these excursions were not without danger. One of their number having embarked in a kajak, to angle for fish, was upset by a sudden gust of wind and rolling waves, and must inevitably have perished, if two Greenlanders, who were near at hand had not come to his assistance, and after tying him between their kajaks, towed him to land. They, therefore, relinquished this hazardous way of fishing.

God did not forsake his faithful servants in these trying circumstances. He strengthened their faith in his all suf-

ficient providence, when meditating on the examples of his people, recorded in the bible, who were sustained in famine and dearth, in weakness made strong, and rescued out of a thousand dangers. They proved that the same all-sufficient God, still takes care of his children, and knows how to deliver them from all their fears. Help was often at hand when least expected. Thus when they were brought to the last extremity, He, who sent a raven to feed his prophet, disposed a strange Greenlander, called Ippagan, to come forty leagues from the south, and from time to time sell them all he could spare. This heathen was the instrument in God's hand, to preserve our missionaries from actual famine, till his own resources were exhausted. What rendered this occurrence peculiarly remarkable was, that in one of their summer excursions they accidentally met with this Greenlander, who received them with much kindness, took notice of their behaviour and conversation, and entered into serious discourse with them. Yet, in their distress they did not recollect him, and would hardly have found him out, if they even had made the search. He came to them of his own accord, towards the end of the year, and pitying their deplorable condition, invited them to pay him a visit.

Our brethren now and then earned a little by writing for the Danish missionaries, till the stock of provision at the colony began to fail. By this time, however, they had not only learned to be satisfied with very mean and scanty fare, but had also enured themselves to the eating of seals'-flesh, mixing up a little oatmeal with train-oil. Those who know the nature of train-oil, may form some idea of the hardships endured by them. Yet even this was a delicacy, compared to the old tallow candles, they were frequently compelled to use.

Almost worn out with fatigue and hardships, and not without anxious apprehensions as to their future prospects, our missionaries entered into the fourth year of their residence in Greenland. Now, at length, the Lord appeared for their effectual relief, as to their temporal support. In May 1736, they received intelligence from the captain of a Dutch ship, lying thirty leagues to the south, that he had

some goods on board his vessel, consigned to them, and which he was ordered to deliver into their own hands. One of them immediately repaired to the ship, where he was informed, that Mr. Lelong in Amsterdam, had sent them several articles of provisions, and that he and some generous friends intended to furnish them with a fresh supply the following year, if they duly received the present stores. This seasonable help was the more welcome as neither they, nor the congregation in Herrnhut, had in any way solicited the aid of their friends in Holland. They gratefully accepted this generous offer, and particularly requested, that in case nothing else could be forwarded, they might be furnished with a strong, durable boat, an article they needed more than any thing else for procuring the necessaries of life, and which would render them less dependant upon assistance from abroad.

They now anxiously waited for the arrival of the Danish ships. At length the third of these ships reached their shore on the 7th of July; and though they did not bring them above half the supplies they wanted, they were greatly revived and strengthened by many letters and accounts from their brethren, and by the accession of new assistants. These were, Matthew Stach's mother, a widow of forty five years of age, with her two daughters, Rosina and Anna*, the former twenty two, and the latter but twelve years old. Their conductor, George Wiesner returned the next year to Europe. Their family being thus increased to seven persons, they were enabled to make a more regular arrangement in their housekeeping. The management of their domestic concerns was allotted to the sisters, and as it was the intention that the two younger should be trained for missionary service among their own sex, they received instruction in the Greenland language, in which they acquired great proficiency†.

* Both of them were in the sequel married: the elder to the missionary John Beck, and the younger to Frederic Boenish.

† As I have had repeated occasion to speak of Mr. Egede, and of his and his wife's kind attention to our brethren, I shall here mention, that having requested his dismission, it was granted him in the most gracious terms, and he returned to Copenhagen this season, after having laboured in this country, with truly apostolical zeal for fifteen years without seeing any abiding fruit from his exertions. Towards the close of the preceding year his wife

Their external affairs now began to wear a more pleasing appearance; but with respect to the attainment of the benevolent object they had in view, the Lord in his infinite wisdom saw fit to try their faith and patience a little longer. They had scarce any opportunities of being useful to the heathen. Few called upon them, except when driven by necessity to obtain victuals, and when they did, they showed an utter aversion to religious discourse. If a missionary tarried with them more than one night, they used every diabolical art to entice him to join in their dissolute practices: and when not succeeding in this, they endeavoured to vex and irritate him by mockeries, and by mimicking his reading, praying and singing, or by interrupting his devotions by their hideous howling and the noise of their drums. When the missionaries told them, that they did not reside among them for the sake of temporal advantages, but to teach them the will of God, they would tauntingly reply: "Fine fellows indeed, to be our teachers! we know very well that you yourselves are ignorant, and must learn your lesson of others *." (Referring to their receiving instruction in the Greenland language.)

When the savages found, that they could effect nothing in this way, they resorted to other measures. They insulted and maltreated their persons. They pelted them with stones, climbed upon their shoulders, destroyed their goods, and even attempted to spoil their boat, or drive her out to sea, which would have deprived them of their chief means of support, and must in every respect have proved fatal to them. Their cruelty did not stop here. One night

died. Crantz gives her the character of a brave, magnanimous woman, who might with great propriety be called a *christian heroine*, and adds, "I have never heard her name mentioned by our brethren, but with the most respectful and affectionate expressions, for indeed she treated them on all occasions as if they had been her children." He was succeeded in his office, as Danish missionary, by his eldest son and two assistants. Soon after his return to Copenhagen he was honoured with an audience of the king, was made superintendent of the mission in Greenland with a yearly salary of 100*l*. and ordered to found a seminary for students and orphans to be instructed in the Greenland language, and educated for missionary services in that country. He spent his latter years in retirement, and closed his useful and honourable life on the 5th of November 1758, in the 73rd year of his age.

* Crantz, Vol. i. p. 368.

the missionaries perceived that some person was endeavouring to draw aside the curtains of their tent, which were fastened with a couple of pins. Going out to see who it was, they beheld, to their amazement, a number of Greenlanders with knives in their hands; nor could they drive them away, till they threatened them with their fire-arms. Our missionaries supposed their only intention was to take away the skins, which covered the tent: but some years after they learned that the savages had conspired against their lives, expecting that the other Europeans would not deem it worth their while to revenge the death of such poor despised people. And as it appeared in the sequel, that they were instigated to this wicked attempt by some malicious persons in the colony, our brethren sent a strong remonstrance to the Danish missionaries and factor, which was duly attended to, and had the desired effect.

Notwithstanding these overwhelming discouragements, they still persevered in the path of duty. They continued their visits to the heathen, though without any visible success. Those that lived at a distance were stupid, ignorant and void of reflection; and those in the vicinity, who had long been instructed, were not grown better, but rather worse; they appeared disgusted with religious discourse, and hardened against the truth. Sometimes they urged their want of understanding as an excuse, and would say: "Shew us the God you describe, then will we believe in him and serve him. You represent him too sublime and incomprehensible, how shall we come to him? Neither will he trouble himself about us." At other times they exerted their wit in shocking and profane jests at the most sacred mysteries of religion.

At one time Matthew Stach stayed a whole month with some of them. He describes their behaviour towards him as very changeable. In the beginning, they now and then suffered him to read to them out of the New Testament, but they soon lost their relish for this. One day, while it was raining very hard, they desired him to pray to the Son of God, whom he described as an almighty being, that he would give them good weather, and not let the rain penetrate into their houses. The missionary replied,

there was no necessity for prayer in this case, as they need only spread their tent-skins upon the roof, and then the wet could not soak through; they ought rather to pray to God to have mercy on their souls. But for this they had no ears. Their conduct often became almost insufferable. Once they kept up a dance, for two whole nights successively, accompanied with the most hideous howling and drumming *. The children, however, showed much fondness for him, and used to run after him wherever he went. He conversed familiarly with them, asked them a few questions, and for a while engaged their attention; but this was soon diverted, when any new thing attracted their notice, and thus the little they had learned was speedily forgotten.

In the beginning of 1738, many Greenlanders visited the missionaries. Their chief inducement was to get provisions, with which they were supplied as far as possible. Our brethren did not neglect this opportunity of exciting in them a hunger after that meat, which endureth unto life everlasting. But, as in former cases, their admonitions still failed of the desired effect.

One solitary instance however occurred, which served to revive their drooping spirits. Among their hungry guests, was a young heathen, of the name of Mangek, who offered to take up his residence with them, if they would maintain him, promising that he would deliver to them whatever he caught. Though they did not believe that he would remain longer with them than while the present scarcity lasted, yet they willingly admitted him, looking upon him as an instrument sent them from above, for the purpose of acquiring greater proficiency in the language. They instructed him daily, and endeavoured more particularly to make him attentive to the state of his soul. At first, their instructions seemed unavailing, but by degrees they discovered some relencings of heart, and convictions of sin; and when they prayed with him tears generally started into his eyes. On this account his countrymen began to persecute him; and when they

* The missionary judged the number of those present to fall little short of one hundred and fifty.

could not entice him to leave the missionaries, and join in their heathenish practices, they tried by various artifices to induce the brethren to put him away, falsely accusing him of having purloined several articles. In the sequel, he indeed left our missionaries, yet this occurrence animated their hope to persevere in sowing the seed of the gospel, looking to God for the increase.

Five years had now elapsed since their arrival in Greenland, and except the case just now related, which was but like the first 'dawn of the morning spread upon the mountain,' they had seen no abiding fruit from their labours. They had tilled a soil apparently unfit for culture, and in tears, had sown the seed on hearts, seemingly, as cold and barren as the coast where they had pitched their tents. But, now the Lord heard their prayers, and made it appear that their "judgment was with him, and their work with their God."

"June the 2nd." (write the missionaries) "many Southlanders visited us. Brother Beck at the time, was copying a translation of a portion of the gospels. The heathen being very curious to know the contents of the book, he read a few sentences, and after some conversation with them, asked, whether they had an immortal soul, and whither that soul would go after death? Some said: "Up yonder;" and others: "down to the abbyss." Having rectified their notions on this point, he inquired, who had made heaven and earth, man and all other things? They replied, they did not know, nor had they ever heard, but it must certainly be some great and mighty Being. He then gave them an account of the creation of the world, the fall of man, and his recovery by Christ. In speaking on the redemption of man, the Spirit of God enabled him to enlarge with more than usual energy on the sufferings and death of our Saviour, and in the most pathetic manner to exhort his hearers, seriously to consider the vast expense, at which Jesus had ransomed their souls, and no longer reject the mercy offered them in the gospel. He then read to them out of the New Testament, the history of our Saviour's agony in the garden. Upon this the Lord opened the heart of one of the company,

whose name was Kayarnak ; who stepping up to the table, in an earnest manner, exclaimed : "How was that ? tell me that once more ; for I too desire to be saved." These words, the like of which had never before been uttered by a Greenlander, so penetrated the soul of brother Beck, that with great emotion and enlargement of heart, he gave them a general account of the life and death of our Saviour, and of the scheme of salvation through him."

In the mean time, the other missionaries, who had been abroad on business, returned, and with delight joined their fellow-labourer in testifying of the grace of God in the blood of Jesus. Some of the pagans laid their hands on their mouths, which is their usual custom when struck with amazement. Others, who did not relish the subject, slunk away secretly ; but several requested to be taught to pray, and frequently repeated the expressions used by the missionaries when praying with them, in order to fix them in their memories. In short, they manifested such an earnest and serious concern for their salvation, as the missionaries, had never witnessed before ; and at going away, they promised soon to return, and hear more of this subject, and also to tell it to their countrymen.

The impression made on Kayarnak was not transient, but had taken deep root in his heart. He frequently visited our brethren, and at length took up his residence with them. He told them, that he often felt a monition in his heart to pray, and "when we speak to him," say they, "he is often so affected, that the tears roll down his cheeks." Considering the general stupidity of the Greenlanders, the missionaries were not a little surprised at the quickness with which he comprehended every thing they told him, and retained it in his memory. At the same time he manifested very strong attachment to them, and a constant desire for further instruction.

By means of his conversation, his family (or those who lived in the same tent with him,) were brought under conviction ; and before the end of the month, three large families came with all their property, and pitched their

tents near the dwelling of our brethren, "in order," as they said, "to hear the joyful news of man's redemption." They all appeared much affected, and even some, who had formerly opposed the word, declared that they would now believe, and winter with the missionaries. Most of them, however, soon went away to hunt reindeer; but Kayarnak refused to accompany them, fearing to suffer harm in his soul. Hereby he was brought into great straits, as he had no tent of his own. This was the third time he had been abandoned by his friends, who had taken the skin-boat and the tent, which in part at least, were his property. Our brethren were not without fear lest his friends should entice him away, by exaggerating the difficulties of his new mode of life, and the restrictions he would be under, compared with the unbounded liberty, or rather licentiousness, in which the heathen live. But he remained firm to his purpose, and instead of long vindications, would reply to their mockeries and remonstrances, by a short remark like this: "Yes, I will stay with my teachers, and hear the words of God, which I have once found sweet to my taste." If they were disposed to hear him, he discoursed with them; if they railed at him, he held his peace, after he had borne his testimony to the truth, in a few serious words. At length he prevailed so far with some of his nearest relatives, that they resolved to return; and even some other families desired leave to settle near our missionaries.

Thus in the beginning of October 1738, when the Greenlanders leave their tents and move into their winter houses, above twenty persons took up their abode near the brethren. This induced them to commence regular morning and evening devotions with the two families of Kayarnak and his relation, Simck, every day, besides the reading and expounding of the holy Scriptures on the Lord's day. Five of these persons, who appeared most serious, they selected as suitable candidates for baptism, and gave them more frequent instruction in the truths of salvation. They also began a school with the children; but this they found a most difficult and troublesome undertaking, for their scholars were so entirely unaccustomed to any kind of discipline, that it was nearly impossible to keep them to

their lessons, and the parents themselves did not comprehend the use of reading and writing. They, however, succeeded so far, that some of them were able to read easy passages.

Among other evidences of a real work of grace, having been begun in the hearts of some of the inhabitants in their little settlement, our missionaries notice particularly, their desire to be instructed in prayer, and the remarkable change wrought in them in the prospect of death. Many of them fell sick during this period, but manifested comparatively little of that horror, which generally seizes the natives when dangerously ill. Kayarnak, in a severe fit of sickness, declared, that he felt no freedom nor inclination to pray for his recovery, but was resigned to the will of God.

The year 1739 was distinguished in the mission by the baptism of the first Greenland converts. This interesting and solemn transaction was performed on Easter-sunday, March 29th. The candidates having, before the whole assembly, given a full account of the ground of their hope, and promised to renounce all heathenish customs and superstitions, to remain with their teachers, and walk worthily of the gospel, were in fervent prayer, with imposition of hands, commended to the grace of God, and baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The presence of the great Head of his church was felt in the most powerful manner during this transaction; the tears flowed in streams from the eyes of those just baptized, and the spectators were so overcome, that they earnestly desired to be made partakers of the same grace. The first fruits of the Greenland nation, who by this sacred rite were publicly ingrafted into the christian church, consisted of Kayarnak, his wife, his son, and his daughter.

A month had scarce elapsed, before the hope, excited by this propitious event, received a very severe shock. A banditti of murderers, coming from the north, killed Kayarnak's brother-in-law, who also lived with the missionaries, under the pretence, that he had by sorcery,

caused the death of the ring-leader's son. They decoyed him out to sea, and most perfidiously thrust a harpoon into his body; and though he drew it out and fled on shore, they pursued him, stabbed him in thirteen places, and threw him over the rocks, where, after diligent search, his body was found in a pit, and buried. This occurrence spread a dreadful panic through the whole little settlement, especially, as the murderers had threatened to kill Kayarnak's other brother-in-law. Our missionaries did all in their power to allay the fears of the Greenlanders; and the gentlemen of the Danish colony, likewise, interested themselves in the affair, and so far succeeded, as to take the ring-leader and several of the gang prisoners, in the presence of above a hundred of their countrymen. On his examination he confessed, that besides Kayarnak's brother-in-law, he had killed three persons with his own hands, and had been accessory in committing three other murders. But as he was subject to no human judicature, and ignorant of the divine law, they only read to him the ten commandments, threatened him severely, and let him go. This did not dispel the fears of Kayarnak, but rather increased them; and after spending some time in great disquietude, he declared, that he considered himself bound to conduct the brother of the deceased, whose life the ruffians chiefly sought, to a place of safety in the south. All the exhortations, remonstrances and entreaties of our missionaries proved ineffectual to dissuade him from his purpose; for though he wept bitterly at leaving them, his fears prevailed, and he went to the south. Thus in the course of two weeks they beheld with deep sorrow, their territory forsaken by most of its inhabitants, and had to endure the additional reproach, that they could indeed baptize heathen, but were not able to *make them real christians*, and wean them from their roving manner of life. They were little aware, that this occurrence, which appeared so destructive to their hopes, would, by the over-ruling hand of God, become the means of diffusing the knowledge of the gospel in distant places, and increase the number of believing Greenlanders beyond their most sanguine expectations.

It was not long before they experienced some alleviation to the sorrow which these disastrous events had occasioned. Twenty one boats of Southlanders passed by their settlement, and brought them the pleasing intelligence, that they had met the fugitives, who had told them many wonderful things about God, of which they wished to be better informed. After some time Simek and his family, who had accompanied Kayarnak on his flight, returned, and before winter nine families resided with them. Thus they had again full scope for their exertions; and though in their labours among these people, they met with much to exercise their faith and patience, yet they had upon the whole more cause to rejoice than to mourn, as their instructions were evidently not without a blessing. The young people, in particular, six of whom attended the school, afforded them the most pleasing hopes.

Various circumstances concurred, to render the year 1740 memorable in the annals of the Greenland mission.

A great change took place in the mode adopted by our brethren, in their endeavours to instruct the natives. The method hitherto pursued by them, consisted principally in speaking to the heathen of the existence, the attributes and perfection of God, and enforcing obedience to the divine law, hoping by this means gradually to prepare their minds for the reception of the sublimer and more mysterious truths of the gospel: and it must be allowed that, abstractedly considered, this method appears the most rational; but when reduced to practice, it was found wholly ineffectual. For five years our missionaries had laboured in this way, and could scarce obtain a patient hearing from the savages. Now, therefore, they determined, in the literal sense of the words, to preach CHRIST AND HIM CRUCIFIED, without first "laying the foundation of repentance from dead works, and faith towards God." No sooner did they declare unto the Greenlanders "the word of reconciliation," in its native simplicity, than they beheld its converting and saving power. This reached the hearts of their audience and produced the most astonishing effects. An impression was made, which opened a way to their consciences, and illuminated their

understandings. They remained no longer the stupid and brutish creatures, they had once been : they felt they were sinners, and trembled at their danger ; they rejoiced in the offer of a Saviour, and were rendered capable of relishing sublimer pleasures than plenty of seals and the low gratifications of sensual appetites. A sure foundation being thus laid in the knowledge of a Crucified Redeemer, our missionaries soon found that this supplied their young converts with a powerful motive to the abhorrence of sin and the performance of every moral duty towards God and their neighbour ; taught them to live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this present world ; animated them with the glorious hope of life and immortality, and gave them the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, as the Creator, Preserver, and moral Governor of the world, in a manner far more correct and influential, than they could ever have attained, had they persevered in their first mode of instruction. The missionaries, themselves, derived benefit from this new method of preaching. The doctrines of the cross of Christ warmed and enlivened their own souls in so powerful a manner, that they could address the heathen with uncommon liberty and fervour ; and were often astonished at each other's powers of utterance. In short, the happiest results have attended this practice, not only at first, and in Greenland, but in every other country, where our missionaries have since laboured for the conversion of the heathen.

In this year likewise, their external circumstances took a more favourable turn. Their supplies of provisions from Europe became more regular, and were in the sequel, subject to but few disappointments ; and some restrictions, under which the mission had hitherto laboured, were abrogated by a royal rescript.

The bright prospect of our missionaries, in consequence of Kayarnak's conversion had been very much clouded by his sudden flight, and the very slender hopes they entertained of his return. But these clouds were quickly dispersed. In about a year Kayarnak returned, bringing his brother and his family along with him, whose instruction had been one principal object of his journey. It gave the

brethren inexpressible joy, that he had not lost ground in the knowledge and experience of the gospel, and that during his residence among the heathen, he had diligently declared to them the way of salvation, and had daily engaged in religious exercises with his own family.

Several other Greenlanders settled at NEW-HERRNHUT about this time, and evinced a serious concern for their salvation, which drew upon them opposition from some of their neighbours. This however did not deter them from extolling the grace of God, and their exhortations, joined to a consistent conduct, had very considerable influence on their countrymen, who often expressed their astonishment at what they heard. Sometimes the missionaries took the young converts with them on their visits to the heathen, which proved of material benefit. In their absence, Kayarnak held meetings for prayer with those Greenlanders who remained at home; and a young woman who had been baptized about this time and called Sarah, was very useful among her own sex.

Their new converts were likewise of use to them in acquiring greater proficiency in the language. In hearing the natives pray, they often acquired expressions, which they would not have attained in any other way, and thus they learned from their converts to *speak*, after these had been taught by them to *think*. Now, therefore, they began to translate the harmony of the four Evangelists.

A new trial soon after befel our missionaries. In February 1741 the first fruits of their labours, Kayarnak, was seized with a pleurisy, by means of which he finished his earthly pilgrimage. He bore his sufferings with true christian patience and fortitude, being filled with the hope of life and immortality. When any of his friends began to talk with him about worldly affairs, he begged them not to encumber him with such things now, for his thoughts and affections were wholly engaged with our Saviour. Seeing some of them weep he said: "Don't be grieved for me; have you not often heard that believers, when they die, go to our Saviour and partake of eternal joy? You know, I was the first of our nation, who was converted to

the Saviour, and now it is his will that I should be the first to go to him. If you remain faithful to the end, we shall meet again before the throne of God and the Lamb, and rejoice for ever at the grace conferred upon us. He will know how to provide food for you and especially for my wife." Contrary to the custom of the Greenlanders, both his wife and his brother shewed much resignation at his death, and requested our brethren to bury his corpse according to the manner of believers. The gentlemen and other persons belonging to the colony of Good-hope attended the funeral. After singing some verses, one of our missionaries delivered a short discourse in the house. Four Greenland youths then carried the coffin to the burying-place. At the grave one of the Danish missionaries gave a short exhortation; and the whole was concluded with prayer. This solemn scene made a wonderful impression on the natives, who were present. His death was a severe stroke to our brethren: they lost in him a bright example of the efficacy of divine grace in renovating the heart, a lively and active witness of Christ among his countrymen, and a very useful assistant in translating the New Testament.

Our missionaries still proceeded with their usual activity in visiting and instructing the heathen, and were faithfully assisted by their converts. Wherever these went, in quest of food, they diffused the knowledge of the gospel, both by their words and by their conduct, which the pagans themselves acknowledged to be consistent with their profession. Thus, when our brethren followed them to these places, they generally found the way prepared, which greatly facilitated their labours among the savages. Indeed it appeared that a general inquiry about the way of truth had been excited among the natives inhabiting this part of the coast, which brought many visitors to NEW-HERRNHUT, and annually increased the congregation of believing Greenlanders. Our missionaries, however, observed the utmost caution before they admitted any to the sacred rite of baptism, not only because the impressions made on the Greenlanders, by the gospel, often proved transitory and evanescent, but because they were ever ready to grow proud and self-conceited

when they had attained the least knowledge of divine things.

As a proof of the inquiry excited among the savages, respecting the gospel, the following may suffice. In 1744, when the believing Greenlanders returned from the islands, they reported that they found many heathen, who gladly listened to them, when speaking of the Saviour, and desired to hear more; and those who were disposed to mock were generally silenced by the more sober-minded. One of the baptized found a number sitting together and conversing with much earnestness about the concerns of their souls. They constrained him to sit down by them and join in the discourse. The awakening extended to a greater distance, than the missionaries could conveniently visit. Of this they were informed by one of their baptized Greenlanders, who had found the savages, living many leagues to the north, very eager to be instructed. A company of them urged him to sit down and talk with them for a whole night; and when he stole away the second night, to get some rest, they followed and compelled him to gratify their desire of further conversation. Even a noted *an-gekok*, or necromancer, in that place, was much impressed. He wept two whole days, and told the people he had dreamed that he was in hell, where he saw and heard things, not possible to utter, adding, that he would no longer deceive them by his diabolical delusions.

In process of time, this general stir among the heathen subsided; but the believing Greenlanders increased both in number and grace. At the close of 1748, no less than two hundred and thirty resided at NEW HERRNHUT, thirty-five of whom had been baptized during that year. And though they were not without their imperfections, yet it was evident, that they progressively attained to greater stability, and gave many pleasing proofs of the influence of the gospel on their hearts, both in their intercourse with one another, which became more and more characterised by brotherly love, in their faithful improvement of all the means of grace, and in the composure, and not unfrequently triumphant hope, with which they met death and looked forward to a glorious immortality. Impedi-

ments of one kind or other, were indeed thrown in the way by Satan and his emisaries, the *angekoks*, who fearing entirely to lose their reputation and profits, invented all sorts of stories to deter their countrymen from believing the gospel; but their efforts were feeble and could not withstand the power of divine truth.

In 1747, they erected their first church, a wooden building, the frame and boards of which had been sent from Europe. This proved a very great convenience, as the auditory frequently amounted to three hundred persons. Store-houses were at the same time erected, both for the missionaries and their converts, which to the latter were peculiarly useful, as they could now keep their dried meat, fish, capelins and other articles for winter consumption in a place of safety, where they were neither injured by the cold, nor devoured by beasts of prey. In consequence of this and the good regulations introduced among them, above three hundred persons could be maintained at NEW-HERRNHUT, a place, where it was formerly deemed impossible for two families to subsist. They had it even in their power to assist their poor neighbours in times of scarcity, and they were never deficient in this act of charity.

The year 1752 and the two following were marked by circumstances of a most calamitous nature. The winters of 1752 and 1753 exceeded in severity any in the memory of the natives. The cold was perfectly horrible, and all the inlets were frozen over and blocked up with ice, so that no kajak could stir for many days; and even when any of the Greenlanders went abroad, they were not sure of their lives, and returned with their hands and faces frozen, and mostly without having caught as much as a single bird. Notwithstanding the many perils to which they were exposed, when going out in quest of food, only one of the inhabitants of NEW-HERRNHUT perished at sea. Tempests, resembling hurricanes were not unfrequent. On one occasion the storm nearly threw down the mission-house and chapel; and the violence of the waves completely shattered their new and largest boat, although drawn on shore. Famine succeeded this intense cold,

and plunged the savages into the utmost distress, many being starved to death. Great as were the sufferings of the christian Greenlanders, they were considerably mitigated by the solicitude of the missionaries for their welfare, and the more provident habits they had acquired. A dreadful contagion followed in the train of these calamities, which carried off great multitudes, both natives and Europeans; our missionaries, however, escaped. It raged with great fury at NEW-HERENHUT, for three months. Besides those members of the congregation, who died in other places, thirty five finished their earthly race in the settlement. Many of these evidenced, in the most striking manner, the powerful and elevating influence of religion on the soul, not only leaving this world without regret, but even rejoicing at the bright prospect beyond the grave; which is the more remarkable as the Greenlanders have naturally an excessive horror of death.

During these disasters our brethren had almost daily proofs of the astonishing power of true religion in meliorating the condition of men even in this life, when comparing the situation of the christian Greenlanders with that of their pagan neighbours. In an account of one of their visits to the heathen in 1757, they write, "We passed on to a house, which for want of blubber, the people had long since forsaken*", and sold the timber to us. Near the house we found fifteen persons half starved, lying in such a small and low provision-house, that we could not stand upright, but were forced to creep in on our bellies. They lay one upon another, in order to keep themselves warm. They had no fire, nor the least morsel to eat, and were so emaciated, that they did not even care to raise themselves and speak to us. At length a man brought a couple of fishes. A girl took one, raw as it was, tore it in pieces with her teeth and devoured it with avidity. She looked as pale as death, and her whole countenance was truly ghastly. Four children had already perished with hunger. We distributed among them a portion of our own scanty pittance, and advised them to go

* When the Greenlanders have burnt all their oil, or as their phrase is, when the lamps must go out, they move into a close hole, which requires fewer lamps to warm it.

to our land, which however they seemed rather reluctant to do, as they never showed any inclination to hear the gospel, and carefully avoided all intercourse with our Greenlanders *." Indeed so little did these external distresses lead the heathen to a due sense of their spiritual need, and the benefits arising from religion, that though many of them came to the settlement and were hospitably entertained, and even acknowledged the superior excellency of *their* way of life; yet they manifested no real desire to become christians, and most of them went away again as soon as the famine subsided.

The great mortality at NEW-HERRNHUT deprived the congregation of some of its best providers, and increased the number of widows and orphans. This rendered it necessary for the missionaries to make proper arrangements for the support of the destitute. In those families where there was still a son left, the maintenance of the survivors was assigned to him. When there was no provider, the children were distributed among the rest of the families, to be trained to such kinds of manual labour as are required in Greenland. Orphans of a still younger age were confided to the care of some of the sisters; and infants at the breast were committed to those mothers who were still nursing †. It was pleasing to observe that the christian Greenlanders yielded the most cheerful obedience to these regulations, and that many, who were less able, put to shame their richer neighbours. Our missionaries did not lighten the burden on themselves. They had to clothe several destitute children, and to provide boats and other necessary implements for many of the boys, that they might be able in time to support themselves and their poorer relatives. For it was their constant aim to educate

* Crantz, Vol. ii. p. 258.

† There is nothing from which the Greenland women are more averse than to nurse the child of a stranger, lest it should become a rival in their affections to the prejudice of their own children. In this case the Greenlanders are totally devoid of feeling and compassion, and there is no alternative left for the unfortunate father, who cannot bear to witness the lingering death of his motherless infant, but to bury it *alive* with its mother. It affords, therefore, no small proof of the influence of divine grace, when a Greenland woman, professing Christianity, conquers this savage disposition and becomes a kind foster-parent to an orphan-child.

their young people in habits of industry, and not to collect together a company of idle and poor people, who must be burthensome to their friends in Europe.

In their endeavours to bring the heathen to a saving knowledge of the gospel, they met with many instances of its transforming and ennobling influence. Among several instances of this kind, related by Crantz in his history of the Greenland mission, the following two, which occurred about this time, are remarkable.

“ One of their earliest acquaintances was a South Greenlander, of the name of Kainack, whose intercourse with them commenced in the year 1739, and their discourse seemed even then to make some impression upon his mind. This he endeavoured to shake off, for being of a good family* and making a great figure, he was regarded as a prince by his countrymen, and feared to lose his fancied dignity and reputation, by joining himself to the believers, for in Greenland as well as elsewhere, decided adherence to the Lord and his people, is connected with reproach from worldly men. His conscience, however, was disquieted; and with a view to get rid of this uneasiness of mind, he led a roving life. In this state he committed several outrages. One man he beat so severely that he crippled him; at another time he lay in wait for some of the christian Greenlanders, and threatened to set the house of the missionaries on fire, because they took a woman under their protection whom he wished to marry against her will. In the sequel indeed he accomplished his purpose, and this very woman proved the means of his genuine conversion. She brought him more frequently under the sound of the gospel, and thus his early impressions, which, like a smothered spark, had lain dormant in his breast, were rekindled. Having given sufficient evidence of his sincerity, he was baptized together with his wife, at NEW-HERRNHUT, in 1753. As soon as they could leave their winter-houses, he and most of his domestics, upwards of twenty in number, removed to the settle-

* In Greenland a man is reckoned of noble family, if he is descended from a father, grandfather and great grand father, who were renowned seal-catchers.

ment, and the greater part of them, in the sequel, were likewise baptized. As his conversion excited a good deal of observation in the country, our missionaries had for a while a large number of hearers, many of whom prepared to follow him. As for Kainack himself, he became as quiet and peaceable after his baptism, as he had been wild and ungovernable before. He died rather suddenly three years after, while he was among the islands with his family, who lost in him an industrious and faithful father, and the congregation a respectable member and sincere follower of Christ."

While this instance beautifully illustrates the care of the good Shepherd, in going after his sheep, which was lost, until he found and brought it to his fold; the other case, to which I have alluded, presents us with an example of true christian charity.

"An account being read to the congregation at NEW HERRNHUT, of the destruction of the Brethren's settlement among the Indians at Guadenhütten*, in North America, our Greenlanders were so affected, that they burst into loud weeping, and spontaneously made a proposal to raise some contributions among themselves for their poor brethren. "I have a fine reindeer skin, which I will give," said one; and another, "I have a new pair of reindeer boots, which I will send." A third added: "I will send them a seal that they may have something to eat and burn." Now, although their contributions, when turned into money, were of no great value, yet our missionaries did not choose to reject them, but ordered the amount of the whole to be remitted to the sufferers in America, as an evidence of the benevolent influence of the gospel on the Greenlanders†.

Besides near two hundred Greenlanders, who had been baptized by our missionaries, and who had finished their earthly career, their congregation consisted now of four hundred persons. Since the year 1742, when the

* See Chapter III.

† Crantz, Vol. ii. p. 180, 255, 266.

first general awakening of the natives commenced, the increase had been considerable, at least in proportion to the population of the country. The same rapid increase was no longer to be expected; for as several new colonies had been established and provided with missionaries by the Danes, most of the heathen, living in the North and near Ball's river, attended the preaching at Good Hope. Our brethren had had regular stations for preaching the gospel in the islands of Kook and Kangek, to which the Greenlanders from the South generally resort, and where they sometimes take up their abode for a year or two, on their journeys to and from the North; and it was chiefly from these people they had received their converts. By them, also, our missionaries had been often invited to establish a settlement somewhere in the South, as many in that part of the country were disposed to receive the gospel, but did not incline to move to NEW HERRNHUT, being apprehensive that they would not be able to support themselves there. For although the country about Ball's river is one of the finest districts in Greenland, the natives cannot easily resolve to leave the place of their nativity and settle elsewhere, since the mode of procuring a livelihood differs more or less in every place, and a year or two are generally spent in acquiring the necessary new habits and practices, during which time they mostly suffer great want of provisions. Indeed our missionaries themselves did not wish the settlement at NEW HERRNHUT to become too numerous; for though the experience of subsequent years has shewn, that the place is capable of supporting a considerable number of inhabitants, yet they found it difficult to maintain proper regularity and discipline in a congregation, whose number rendered attention to the individual members almost impossible, a circumstance peculiarly necessary among heathen converts.

For these reasons, and in the hope of extending their usefulness, they had for some years frequently deliberated on the practicability of forming a second settlement, and several places had been under consideration in this view, but none of them appeared eligible. Meanwhile the Danes established a factory at Fishers' bay, about one hundred miles to the south of NEW-HERRNHUT. This induced

our brethren to transmit a memorial to the President of the Greenland Trading Company in Copenhagen, offering to form a settlement in that neighbourhood. Their offer was readily accepted; but its execution was impeded for some time.

Every needful arrangement being at length made, Matthew Stach * and two other brethren, set sail for Greenland in 1758. Having rested a few weeks at New HÆRENHUT, and concerted the needful measures with the missionaries there, they proceeded to Fisher's bay, on the 19th July, accompanied by four Greenland families, consisting in all of thirty two persons, destined to make the beginning of the new congregation. It was the wish of the trading company that they should settle as near to the colony as they deemed most convenient for the Mission. After diligently exploring that part of the country, they fixed on *Akonamick*, where an old Greenland house was still standing, as the most eligible spot. It is situated on an island, about three miles from the main ocean, and nearly at an equal distance from the factory, and though it affords no prospect to the sun, which is peculiarly desirable in Greenland, and his beams are entirely intercepted by a high mountain for three months in the year; yet they chose this spot, as it possessed the following three advantages: fresh water, which is never entirely frozen; a secure harbour for their boats; and a strand which remains open the whole year, and is not at too great a distance from the ocean.

In erecting their house they had to encounter various difficulties, as they had not been able to bring the necessary materials for building with them, and the place itself supplied them with very few; they could not even derive much assistance from the Greenlanders, as they had to build their own houses. They were obliged to roll the

* He was one of the first missionaries who came to this country, but had retired to Germany to spend his latter years among his friends there. Still however he felt the most lively interest in the mission. No sooner therefore was it proposed to him to undertake this new expedition, than he was ready to go, especially as he had always felt a strong inclination to carry the gospel farther to the South, though he was well aware, that new dangers and toils awaited him.

stones to the spot, carry the earth in bags, and fetch the sode by water from another place.

At first the Greenlanders found it difficult to maintain themselves at LICHTENFELS, which was the name given to the new settlement: but discovering at no great distance a strait through which the seals ran into a narrow bay, they found it practicable to prevent their escape, and thus could often kill several at a time. This not only procured them a providential supply, but was the more remarkable, as the natives declared they had never before seen seals in that inlet. Yet, though it alleviated the difficulty, it did not entirely remove it. A scarcity, little short of famine, prevailed in that district, for two or three years, and many of the heathen died of absolute want. The inhabitants of LICHTENFELS indeed suffered less, yet they were often driven to great shifts, having frequently nothing to eat, but a few crow-berries left on the ground during winter, and some small meager fishes. At other times they lived upon muscles and sea-weeds, which they gathered on the strand at low water. Yet amidst all their poverty they were content, and never complained, but helped each other as far as they could, and when one caught a seal, all the inmates of the house received a share. Our missionaries could not relieve them to the extent of their wishes, being themselves reduced to great straits, especially as they had not yet been able to erect a store-house, in which to secure their provisions during the bad weather. Till this defect was removed, our Greenlanders did not reap the full benefit of their industry during the summer months. Yet, by means of their diligence they were even then able to dispose of a greater quantity of blubber to the factor at the colony, than he received from the whole district besides.

During the frequent voyages, which our missionaries as well as their converts were obliged to make, they often encountered most imminent perils, but likewise experienced the most wonderful preservation of their lives. The following instances may serve as examples.

In March 1759, four of the brethren of LICHTENFELS, in one of their voyages, were overtaken by a dreadful snow-storm, and obstructed by the drift-ice, so that they could neither proceed nor return. After long and severe toiling, however, they reached the shore, but the sea ran so high, that they were afraid to land, lest they should be dashed to pieces against the rocks. They only wished that one of them might escape, to tell what was become of the rest. At length the tide made a sufficient opening between the masses of floating ice, and thus they could proceed and land with safety.

Two Greenlanders being despatched with letters to Frederick's Hope, were obliged to sit two nights in their kajaks upon the ice, which at first was constantly breaking in with them, till they reached a firm piece. It was the third night before they came to a house, and had they not been so fortunate, they would in all probability have perished, as their thirst was intolerable, having had no water for two days and nights. The sweat, occasioned by their severe and incessant labour, oozed through their clothes, and by the intense cold, was instantly congealed to ice. One of them had his hands frozen, and their kajaks were also much damaged.

In November the weather was uncommonly tempestuous, At one time the storm shook the mission-house as violently as if there had been an earthquake. Many Greenland houses and boats were damaged, and eight persons were lost at sea. Such was the violence of the wind, that it even split and tore open the ice, but the holes were immediately filled by drifted snow. Before and after the storm balls of fire were observed in the air, in different places. One of them fell near a house and began to burn. A similar phenomenon was seen about christmas, at mid-day, while the sun was shining in full splendour.

Our brethren had not been long settled at LICHTENFELS, before many of the natives visited them, especially those who lived near the factory, and on the other side of the island, though the way by land to both places, is at least six miles across rugged valleys and steep cliffs. Besides

some widows and their children and some single women, two families took up their abode with them, and diligently attended the preaching of the gospel. Considerable impression was also made on the minds of many of the neighbouring heathen, and they obtained by degrees a general knowledge of the truths of religion, but as yet, could not fully resolve to relinquish their pagan customs, and embrace the gospel. When the necessity of conversion was urged upon them, they had always some excuse or other to make for deferring it to a more convenient season.

However the seed of the Word sown by the missionaries, though it lay for a while buried in the earth, did not remain unfruitful. Those who resided near the factory, were for the most part very desirous to hear the gospel, and when the missionary had preached in one house, they followed him into another, in order to hear something more. One of the sailors once remarked, that these Greenlanders acted much more like christians than the Europeans, since some of them joined together every evening, with great devotion, in praying and singing the hymns they had learned. The visits to the heathen, living on the east side of the island, in particular, seemed to promise the richest harvest. In January 1760, the first heathen family was baptized at LICHTENFELS. There was some resemblance between it and that of Kayarnak, the first fruits of the mission at NEW-HERRNHUT. Like the latter it consisted of father, mother, son, and daughter, and like it, they came from the south, and had but lately settled with our brethren. The increase of this new congregation now was such, that in a few years two hundred and ninety persons resided at LICHTENFELS.

To return to NEW-HERRNHUT. The work of the Lord prospered. Many heathen, especially from the South, visited the place. Some were quite savage and indisposed to listen to the gospel*. Others were not quite insensible

* "It shocked me," saith Crantz, who was then on a visit in Greenland, "to see many of them pierced to the heart, so that they trembled, snuffed and blew like a frightened deer, and sometimes, like a man in strong convulsions, tugged their coat, or boots, in order to stifle their convictions, and as soon as

to its importance, yet were unwilling to make a profession, and even forbade their relations to hear the gospel, alleging, that they had seen but too many examples of people, especially of young persons, who after paying serious attention to the doctrine of Christ's sufferings and death, only once or twice, were so captivated, that they could never rest till they lived with the believers, often to the great grief of their nearest relatives. If any one, therefore, took the resolution to live with the believers, he might be considered as gained over to the faith, and instances of leaving the brethren after residing with them, became more and more rare. In general they had weighed the subject for years together; their final determination in favour of christianity might, therefore, in most cases, be considered as the effect of the operation of the Holy Ghost on their hearts. Pleasing instances of this kind were not unfrequent. The number annually added to the church by baptism was between thirty and forty, and some years it exceeded fifty. The inhabitants of this settlement, in 1769, amounted to five hundred and forty.

About this time our missionaries lost their most useful native assistant, Daniel. He received his first impressions of divine truth, under a sermon of the Danish missionary, Mr. Drachart, in the year 1745, and proving by his walk, that he had sincerely embraced the gospel, he was baptized by that gentleman in 1747, at Good Hope, and the following year moved to NEW-HEERENHUT. Our missionaries soon discovered that he was possessed of talents, far superior to the generality of his countrymen, and as his conduct was consistent with his profession, they appointed him to assist them in preaching the gospel and instructing the natives. In this he was indefatigable, and never omitted an opportunity, when any heathen visited the settlement, to speak to them, and explain all the regulations of the place. Yet his zeal was tempered with prudence, and when he met with people, who were disinclined to hear, or even turned the subject into ridicule, he did not obtrude the gospel upon them, but left them, after giving them a gentle, yet serious, reproof. In gene-

the preaching was over, ran off in haste, lest the subject should be more closely applied to them."

ral, however, the heathen heard him gladly. His manner when addressing *them* was lively, engaging and intrepid, but when speaking to his fellow-believers, his discourses were simple, affectionate and impressive. He made frequent use of striking similies, and knew how to apply them with good effect to the hearts and consciences of his hearers. He felt truly interested in the salvation of his countrymen, and spared no pains to promote it; and for this purpose, besides his constant labours near home, he once undertook a journey of eight weeks to a considerable distance to the North, the immediate fruit of which was, that all his relations, then living, followed him to NEW-HERRNHUT, and became worthy members of that congregation. He left the world in sure prospect of a better inheritance. He was much respected at the Danish colony, and the agents of the trade used to call him *the man of God*, and listened to his discourses with astonishment.

Hitherto both the health and the lives of our missionaries had been remarkably preserved. Even those who came first to this country were still in full activity. Notwithstanding the many privations they had suffered, the incessant toils and hardships they had encountered, and the repeated dangers to which they had been exposed, none of them had been afflicted with any serious or alarming sickness. Now, however, a breach was made among them, by the departure of brother Frederick Boenisch, who entered into the joy of his Lord on July 29th, 1763, in the fifty fourth year of his age, twenty eight of which he had spent in the service of this mission.

A singular circumstance occurred in the year 1768. An Angekok, or sorcerer, who had often heard the gospel, but seemingly without effect, was so terrified by a dream, that from that time he altered his manner of life, preached repentance and conversion to his former adherents, and despatched messengers to NEW-HERRNHUT with the request, that a missionary would come and instruct them in the doctrines of salvation; which request was gladly complied with. It is not easy to determine, how far this occurrence might tend to rouse the attention of

the natives, and thus pave the way for their reception of the gospel; so much, however, is certain, that a new awakening arose in those parts, and extended as far as LICHTENFELS and even farther, and many were in the following year added to the church by baptism*.

In 1779, brother Christopher Michael Koenigseer arrived in Greenland, having been appointed to have the superintendency of the whole mission. Besides the faithful discharge of the various and important duties of his office, he rendered essential services to the mission, by the perfect knowledge he acquired of the language, though already far advanced in years. Being the first missionary in that country, who had had the advantage of a learned education, he was qualified to correct the translations of his predecessors, and add several new versions. Among these were, a Greenland Hymn-book, a translations of the Summary of Christian Doctrine, (a kind of catechism) and some smaller pieces.

Desirous still further to extend their benevolent labours, our brethren in 1774, began a new settlement, to the south of LICHTENFELS, not far from Cape Farewell, to which they gave the name of LICHTENAU†. The first missionaries labouring on this station, were John Soerensen and his wife, and the single brother Gutfried Grillich. Four families of christian Greenlanders had come with them to begin the new settlement. From the very first many heathen attended the preaching of the gospel, so that they had frequently above one hundred and fifty hearers, which obliged them to perform divine service in the open air, till they could erect a house for that purpose. During the winter of 1775, nearly two hundred persons resided at LICHTENAU; and in a few years the number of baptized Greenlanders, belonging to that congregation, amounted to two hundred and five.

* Here ends the history of Crantz.

† Ten years before brother Mat. Stach had visited this part of the country, which was then but little known, though most of the inhabitants in the two other settlements had come from it. He spent the winter in these parts, and the immediate fruit of his zealous exertions in preaching the gospel, was that a family of six persons moved to New-herrnhut:

Some new regulations, which were made by the Directors of the Greenland Trading Company in 1776, proved advantageous to the natives in a temporal point of view, but were in other respects detrimental to the mission. An order was issued at the same time, directing that fewer Greenlanders should reside together in one place, this being deemed injurious to the trade. In consequence of this, the christian Greenlanders were in part dispersed, and obliged to take up their residence in different places, at the distance of ten or twelve miles from the settlements. This greatly increased the labour of our brethren, as they considered it their duty, besides sending a native assistant with each company, to visit them occasionally themselves. But these journeys were often rendered extremely difficult, and at times even impossible; and the converts received spiritual injury, by being deprived of the regular instructions of the missionaries*.

In 1782 the country was again visited by a dreadful contagion, which occasioned great distress, both at NEW-HERRNHUT and LICHTENFELS. In the former place, the number of deaths from April till August amounted to one hundred and twenty five, among whom were several native assistants, and some of the most expert and diligent providers. Many families were in consequence reduced to very great straits; and sometimes there was scarce a sufficient number of healthy persons to bury the dead. In LICHTENFELS the disease broke out a little later, but proved equally fatal. Under these afflicting circumstances the missionaries had this great consolation, that the patients looked forward to their dissolution in assured hope of happiness beyond the grave.

The period now under review passed without any striking incidents. The settlements at NEW-HERRNHUT and LICHTENFELS received but little increase from heathen embracing the gospel, as few resided in those parts. LICHTENAU, on the contrary, still remained a gathering-place, where many pagans attended the preaching, and by de-

* This regulation being continued in the sequel, led to the establishment of several Greenland villages, or *out-places*, in the vicinity of each of the settlements.

grees were embodied with the church of Christ. Some of these came from a considerable distance. Thus two men visited that settlement in October 1785, who had come from the east coast, probably a distance of, at least, five hundred miles, having spent the whole summer on the journey. At other times several hundred savages resided some months in their vicinity, for the purpose of procuring provisions. These occurrences were zealously improved by the missionaries, and they had the pleasure to find, that their testimony of the truth as it is in Jesus, in several instances evinced its saving power.

As various baneful effects were observed to arise from the dispersion of the christian Greenlanders, they resolved that a missionary and his wife should winter with them in each of their principal provision-places, in order that the regular ministry of the word and the ordinances of religion, and the schools, might not be interrupted. They made a trial of this measure in 1786, and found it of evident utility; but insurmountable difficulties, in the sequel, prevented its continuance. By degrees, however, the converts themselves became sensible, that they suffered much harm in their souls by their long absence from their teachers. Many therefore refused to leave the settlements in future, and most who had removed, gradually returned.

In 1786 brother Koenigseer fell asleep in Jesus, in the sixty fourth year of his age, the last thirteen of which he had spent in the service of this mission, being intrusted with the general superintendency of all its concerns. He was succeeded in his office by brother Jesper Brodersen, a student of theology, who had arrived about two years before.

Brother Brodersen resided alternately at NEW-HERRNHUT, LICHTENFELS, or LICHTENAU*, devoting all the energies of his mind, to the service of the Lord in this country. Besides his regular avocations in the work of

* New-herrnhut is the most northern, and Lichtenau the most southern settlement. The distance from New-herrnhut to Lichtenfels is one hundred miles, and from there to Lichtenau four hundred miles.

the ministry, and the superintendency of the whole mission, he paid particular attention to the instruction of the native children and young people, and employed his leisure hours in translating several historical pieces of the Old Testament *, and select portions of the prophecies of Isaiah; besides compiling a selection of hymns in the Greenland language. Having brought a small printing-press with him from Europe, he struck off a number of copies for immediate circulation, till the whole work could be printed in Germany: The mission, however, did not long enjoy his useful services. A severe fit of illness, in April 1792, so weakened his constitution, that he could indulge no hopes of recovery in this rigorous climate and therefore found himself necessitated to return to Europe, with his family in 1794. The year before, the missionary, John Soerensen, returned to Europe, being then in his eightieth year, forty nine of which he had spent in the service of this mission.

Amidst many imperfections among their converts, the missionaries found constant cause to acknowledge with unfeigned gratitude to God, the blessing which attended their labours for the conversion of the Greenlanders, and this they considered an ample recompense for the many difficulties and dangers, which they had to encounter in the discharge of their various duties.

The dispersion of the Greenlanders continued, as in former years, to excite painful apprehensions, lest their separation from their teachers, and their being deprived of the usual means of grace in the settlement, should have an injurious influence on their spiritual course, and impede their progress in christian knowledge and practice. In order, as far as possible, to prevent this, one of the native assistants always accompanied each party, and stayed with them during their absence from the settlement, keeping daily morning and evening devotions with them. One or other of the missionaries also visited them as often as circumstances would permit. These visits were frequently attended with much danger; for as they must be made

* The Harmony of the four Gospels had been previously translated.

by water, their progress was sometimes unexpectedly obstructed by large pieces of floating ice, which damaged their boat, and left them no means of safety but by leaping on the ice, dragging the boat after them, and seeking the nearest shore.

They were exposed to similar hazards in the prosecution of their temporal callings. The following instance, among others, may serve as a confirmation of this. In June 1794 two of our brethren, having gone to a neighbouring island, to fetch drift-wood *, were so completely surrounded with ice, that for many days their return remained impracticable. Their fellow-missionaries in NEW-HERRNHUT, being apprehensive for their safety, repeatedly sent Greenlanders in search of them; but these found it impossible to penetrate with their kajaks through the ice. The two brethren, however, were fortunate in catching a sufficient quantity of fish to support life, and at length succeeded in finding a passage through the ice, but at a great distance from the settlement. After a most fatiguing walk over high mountains, and across extensive plains, they safely arrived in NEW-HERRNHUT, having been absent a whole month †.

Though the natives are far more enured to the rigours of the climate, and much better able to encounter the perils connected with their mode of life, than Europeans, yet even many of them perish in consequence of these dangers; but they also experience the most striking preservation and deliverance. A few instances of this kind,

* A great quantity of various kinds of wood annually floats down, mostly along with the ice, to the bays and islands on this coast. (See Crantz, Vol. i. p. 37.) It is a great benefit to this barren country, and besides being used for other purposes, supplies the missionaries with fuel. If therefore the severity of the weather, or other circumstances, prevent their collecting a sufficient quantity of this wood in the proper season, they are exposed to great hardships. This happened in the year 1793, when the long continuance of severe weather rendered it impracticable to procure their usual stock of drift-wood. They were reduced to the unpleasant necessity of heating their rooms during intense cold, for three months, after the Greenland manner by burning train oil in lamps, reserving the little wood they had for the necessary purposes of cooking.

† Brethren's Hist. Vol. iv. p. 622.

which occurred during this period, will doubtless be interesting to the reader.

Two Greenlanders from LICHTENAU, returning in their kajaks from catching seals, were so jammed in by the fresh ice that was accumulating, that their destruction appeared inevitable. Their perilous situation was observed from the shore, but it was impossible to come to their assistance. Soon after the wind drove them along with the ice out to sea, and their friends, completely losing sight of them, were thrown into the utmost anxiety. In the mean time, however, they had reached a large piece of the old ice, (the only one remaining in the bay,) upon which they climbed, drawing their kajaks after them. On this piece of ice, barely large enough to afford room for them and their kajaks, they spent the night, which was piercingly cold. The next morning the new ice had attained sufficient firmness to bear their weight, and they walked home on it in safety*.

A company of four Europeans and three Greenland women, travelling by land from Nappartok to Good-Hope, a distance of only eight or ten miles, were so overcome by cold and hunger, that three of the Europeans and one of the natives, belonging to the Danish factory, fell down by the way, one after the other, and were frozen to death†.

But the hardships and dangers, unavoidably connected with their situation in these frozen regions, are not the only difficulties, that must be encountered by a missionary. His very voyage to this country, or back again to Europe, is replete with perils. Of this brother Grillich had a most painful experience on a voyage he made to Copenhagen on business of the mission. He left Greenland in October 1798, with a ship belonging to Julianenhaab, but after a voyage of five weeks, the vessel was so much damaged by drift-ice, that she was obliged to return. In February 1799 he again set sail in the same ship, but the quantity of drift-ice at sea was greater than before,

* Brethren's Hist. Vol. iv. p. 644. † Ibid. p. 646.

and they were closely hemmed in by it from the 18th to the 25th of that month. At length, finding the ship so clogged and injured by it, that she could not be saved, the captain was under the necessity of quitting her, with all the property on board. On the last-mentioned day, therefore, the whole ship's company began their march over the ice, dragging a boat after them. They spent two nights in the open air, and had no means of quenching their thirst, but by drinking the melted snow. On the third morning they came to open water, put in their boat and sailed five leagues, when they again reached the barren coast of Greenland. They had scarce landed, before a tremendous storm arose with snow and sleet, so that had they been still at sea, they must all have perished. But now they were in a very disastrous situation, without any food or covering for the night. On the following day however it pleased God to send them a favourable wind, with which they sailed five leagues, and reached the colony at Frederickhaab in safety, where brother Grillich was detained till April, and could not reach LICHTENFELS till May. He at length arrived safe at Copenhagen, October 29th with the ship from Good-Hope*.

After the return of brother Grillich to Greenland our three settlements were again visited by a dangerous epidemic, in consequence of which many of the converts departed this life, among whom were some of the most active and useful native assistants. The sorrow felt by the missionaries on account of the loss thus sustained by the whole congregation, was more than balanced by the happy frame of mind, with which the patients bore their bodily sufferings, and the assured hope, with which they looked forward to death and the grave as the avenues to immortality and eternal life.

But, it was not only when visiting the sick, or attending the death-beds of their converts, that they had the pleasure to observe the gracious influence of the gospel on their minds. They frequently beheld this influence in the secret operations of the Spirit of God, convincing

* Per. Acct. Vol. ii. p. 361.

their hearers of sin and leading them to our Saviour, as the only true source of happiness. Among many instances of this kind, which came to the knowledge of our brethren, they relate the following in their diary of 1804.

“One of our people called upon us, in order, as he said, to confess his abominable intentions. He informed us, that on account of many quarrels, which lately occurred in his family, (which he now acknowledged to have been mostly provoked by his own inconsiderate language,) he had formed a resolution to seclude himself from all society by retiring into the wilderness. ‘With this intention,’ said he, ‘I left home and spent some nights in a lonely place. But as I was about to proceed to a still greater distance, I thought, O! how happy are those people, whom the Lord himself reproveth and chasteneth, when they are going astray; O that I were one of them! As I was rowing along, the sea seemed to assume a most dreadful appearance, and with all my exertions I could not get forward; my kajak appeared fixed to the bottom, though I was in the deepest part of the bay. I was frightened, and immediately tried to regain the shore. Here I spent the night in the greatest distress, and as soon as it was day returned to my family with shame and repentance. Now I most fervently thank our Saviour, that he delivered me from the ways of destruction. Never more will I follow the impulse of my own heart, but *He* shall be my only Lord and Master.”

In the year 1804 the missionary Rudolph and his wife experienced an almost miraculous preservation of their lives, in attempting to return to Europe, after a service of twenty six years in the Greenland mission. They left LICHTENAU on June 18th and in the evening of that day went on board the ship, which was lying off the Danish factory of Julianenhaab; but were detained by the drift-ice, which blocked up the bay, till the 14th of July, when they weighed anchor. Having with great difficulty entered Dutch-haven, about two miles from the colony, they

* Per. Acct. Vol. iii. p. 109. Crantz relates in his History of Greenland, that in case of quarrels between husband and wife, one of them sometimes runs away into the wilderness, abandoning for years, and even for life, all human society. Crantz, Vol. i. p. 160. Brethren's Hist. Vol. iv. p. 647.

were again detained, for several weeks, by the ice and the continuance of southerly winds.

The captain being informed by some Greenlanders, that the sea, at no great distance, was free from ice, once more weighed anchor, on August 22nd, resolved at least to make an attempt to get into clear water. The wind was contrary and very high and still much ice within sight. They sailed between huge masses of ice, which made a roaring noise, and caused a most uneasy motion in the ship. To secure her, as far as possible, from damage, several large pieces of ice were fastened to her sides with grappling irons. Thus they cut their way through immense fields of ice, which sometimes rose mountain-high. In this manner they proceeded for three days, encountering many fears and dangers, but happily unconscious of the still more dreadful calamities, which awaited them.

“Early on August 25th.” writes brother Rudolph *, “a storm arose from the south-west, which drove the ice-mountains close to our ship. The scene was awful and horrible; and we expected that the ship would have been crushed to pieces. Once she struck upon a small rock, but was got off without receiving any damage. But soon after she struck with her bows, with such force against a large field of ice, that several planks started at once and the water rushed in. The captain immediately jumped into a small boat, with part of the crew; and having landed them on a large field of ice, he returned for another party. The rest were employed in unloosing the large boat, in order to save themselves; for the ship was rapidly filling with water, and perceptibly going down on her starboard side, so that by the time the boat was let down only the larboard gunwale appeared above water. The captain and all the sailors having left the ship, my wife and I were alone, standing above our knees in water, and holding fast by the shrouds. At last, Capt. Kiar †, came to our assistance, saying, ‘I cannot possibly forsake

* See, his Journal, which contains a detailed account of his perilous voyage, in *Per. Act.* Vol. iv. p. 341—360.

† Capt. K. was not the master of the ship in which the missionaries sailed,

these good people.' By his help we got into the boat, and had likewise our hammock and bed secured.

"We now left the wreck, being about seventy-eight miles distant from LICHTENAU, and about a league from the land. Our boat, being heavily laden, and having already taken in much water, we feared she would sink and were therefore obliged to steer for the nearest island. It proved to be a rough, pointed and naked rock; at a considerable height, however, we found a small spot covered with short grass. We now endeavoured to land the provisions, saved from the wreck, but the waves beat frightfully against the rock, and tossed the boat up and down with such violence, that the rope broke and she was driven out to sea. In order to bring her back eight men immediately leaped into the small boat; but though they came up with the large boat, the fury of the tempest baffled all their efforts to regain the landing place; they were driven to the other side among the ice; by which both our boats were crushed to pieces; nor did we entertain the smallest doubt, that the eight sailors had perished, as it seemed impossible for them to get over the ice to the shore, the waves rising so exceedingly†. All our hopes of being saved, now vanished, and the whole company gave vent to their feelings in general and loud cries and lamentations. In the evening we lay down to rest, close together, without tent or covering. As it continued to rain heavily the whole of this and the following day and night, the water rushed down upon us in torrents from the summit of the rock. We were completely soaked in wet, and lay in a pool of water. But this was in reality a benefit to us, as we were thus supplied with fresh water.

"August 27th, the two captains and most of the sailors got ready to try to gain the shore by walking across the ice; and with great difficulty succeeded in their attempt. We would willingly have gone with them, but having now been two days without tasting any food, we felt our-

but belonged to one, which had been stranded near Staattenhuck and was now returning to Europe.

† Their fears were fortunately unfounded, as all the sailors, excepting one, succeeded in their efforts to get to land.

selves too much enfeebled for such an enterprise. Thus we were left alone on the rock, with the ship's cook, who likewise was unable to follow his comrades. In this dreadful situation we had no hope, but what we derived from the Lord our almighty Saviour. We now saw no other prospect before us, but that of ending our days on this barren rock. The thoughts of lying here unburied, as food for ravens and other birds of prey, which were always hovering around us, troubled us for a short time; but the consolations of our Saviour preponderated, and we soon felt entirely resigned to *his* will."

The captains and sailors having meanwhile reached the land, immediately dispatched some Greenlanders in search of brother Rudolph and his wife. These Greenlanders, after rowing about the whole day of September the 2nd, without seeing any person on the rock, were on the point of returning, concluding that they had perished. Fortunately, however, sister Rudolph, happening to raise herself, discovered the Greenlanders. From them our missionaries got a little seals'-fat and a few herrings, having been without food for nine days. As they came in their kajaks, and had no other boat with them, brother Rudolph and his wife were obliged to spend another night on the rock, and wait till the evening of the next day, when a skin-boat arrived. In her they embarked, and after enduring several hardships, reached the colony of Julianenhaab, in the evening of the 8th, and proceeded to LICHTENAU on the 11th, where they were affectionately welcomed by their fellow-missionaries and the whole congregation, who joined them in grateful praises to God for this wonderful preservation of their lives.

Here they remained till the following May, when they again prepared for their voyage to Europe. After a very tedious and difficult passage in a Greenland boat, from LICHTENAU to LICHTENFELS, they left the latter place, on the 13th of September, in one of the Danish ships, and being favoured with a very expeditious and pleasant voyage, arrived in Copenhagen on the 3rd of October.

Little did our brethren in Greenland imagine, that

the war, which during this period was raging with such violence on the continent of Europe, would extend its ravages to the remote corner of the earth, which they inhabited. But, though they were happily out of the reach of contending armies, they experienced some of the fatal effects of the contest. The rupture between Great Britain and Denmark, occasioned a temporary suspension of the accustomed intercourse between the latter country and her colonies, which are wholly dependant upon Europe for support. This awakened many gloomy apprehensions, both among our brethren and the other colonists; and this fear was considerably increased, as one of the two ships, sent out by the English government in 1808, was lost in the ice, and the provisions, prepared for them in London in 1809, could not be sent, as it was found inconvenient to fit out ships from Great Britain to Greenland. Another misfortune they experienced, was the capture of a Danish provision-ship by the British, and thus, only one small vessel arrived that year, the cargo of which was by no means sufficient to supply the many factories on the coast. Our missionaries in NEW-HERRNHUT, and LICHTENFELS observe; "though we have not yet felt absolute want of the necessaries of life, yet we are obliged to measure (as it were) every mouth-ful we eat, to make our provisions last as long as possible." Their stock of wine was so reduced, that they could but very seldom celebrate the Lord's Supper, which was a great grief to their converts. Another very serious inconvenience, was the want of sufficient change of cloathing, especially linen, and of tobacco, which is the principal medium of traffic in this country.

This distress was felt most severely at LICHTENAU, as appears from the following extract of a letter, written by the missionary Beck in 1813.

"In 1807 we received the last regular supplies; which were sufficient, in addition to what we had spared in former years, to maintain us for a considerable time; and as we hoped, that the interruption occasioned by the war would not last long, we felt no anxiety, but when both the colonists and our brethren at NEW-HERRNHUT and

LICHENFELS began to suffer want, we even helped them out of our store, to various necessary articles, of which, however, we ourselves afterwards felt the want. In the north there was yet some trade, by which partial relief was obtained, but here nothing could be had from that source. Yet we thanked God, that there still existed the means of supporting life, though we suffered many privations, such as of beer, coffee, sugar, and wine, and afterwards of butter and salt: we made the latter last as long as possible, by boiling fish in salt-water; and though whatever was sent to us in 1810, did not arrive here till 1812, we have to thank our Heavenly Father for having given us our daily bread. At last we were the only people that had any tobacco. By this we were enabled to purchase birds and fishes from the Greenlanders, as also furs for our boats and clothing. We had likewise some seed left, and got a small-supply of garden-stuff. The Greenlanders brought us scurvy-grass in barter for tobacco. The latter article, however, became at last so scarce that a pound cost 7s. 6d. *."

In this distressful situation the colonies continued till the year 1811, when the British government generously afforded every facility to the Danes, to supply their Greenland factories, by permitting Danish provision-ships, furnished with a proper license to sail thither. By this humane measure, on the part of England, they were relieved from immediate distress, and all anxiety respecting the future.

While this regulation continued in force, one of our missionaries, John Conrad Kleinschmidt, whose wife had entered into the joy of her Lord, after a residence of nearly nineteen years in Greenland, resolved to bring his five children to Europe, and for this purpose set sail in the ship *Freden*, bound for Leith in Scotland. They left NEW-HERRNHUT on September 2nd, 1812, but owing to unfavourable weather, did not lose sight of the coast till

* Per. Acct. Vol. vi. p. 196. In some of the colonies the distress was still greater. The colonists were reduced to the necessity of eating small herrings, muscles, and even sea-weeds; many of them therefore left the country, Per. Acct. Vol. v. p. 195.

the 25th. The wind was fair, and they had the prospect of a speedy and pleasant voyage, when suddenly there arose from the north-west a most tremendous storm, which raged with unabating fury for about three days and two nights. In the evening of the 29th, when it was at its height, accompanied with thunder and lightning, a flash struck the ship. Two sailors were thrown down; one of whom instantly expired. The captain and all on board were filled with the utmost consternation, and the former exclaimed: "We are all lost, and there is no other ship near to save us." Fortunately, however, it was soon discovered, that the ship had not taken fire, nor sustained any very serious damage. In the sequel they encountered several severe gales and contrary winds, which so prolonged the voyage, that they were put on short allowance of water, which was peculiarly trying to the children. This privation, however, lasted only five days, as they came in sight of the Scottish coast on the 8th of October, and two days after cast anchor in Leith Roads. During their stay there, one of brother Kleinschmidt's daughters, a child only three years old, died after a short illness. On this, as well as on every other occasion, he and his company experienced the most affectionate attention from many worthy gentlemen in this place and in Edinburgh, who are sincere and generous friends to our missions*.

During his absence a most tragical event occurred in the congregation, which he had hitherto served in the gospel. A party of christian Greenlanders, having celebrated Christmas at the settlement, were returning to one of the out-places, where they resided by an order of government, intended to promote the interests of trade. They set out in their skin-boat, in January 1813, when the cold was so intense, that the thermometer stood twelve degrees below Reaumur's freezing point. They had soon to encounter the floating ice, by which their boat was crushed to pieces. They however escaped upon a large field of ice, and drove about for twenty four hours, when during the night a violent storm arose from the north,

* For a circumstantial account of this voyage, see *Per. Acct.* Vol. v. p. 334—341.

which carried them out to sea. Here they must all have perished, as nothing more was heard of them. They were seventeen in number, old and young, and all baptized members of the congregation at LICHTENAU.

After spending the winter at our settlement of Fulneck in Yorkshire, and having again married, brother Kleinschmidt and his wife, in company of the missionary Gorke* and his wife and their infant daughter, and of brother Mueller and sister Goll, sailed from Leith in the Danish ship *Hualfiskén* for Greenland. They left Scotland on May 24th, 1813, and after a safe and expeditious voyage of five weeks, arrived at Godhaven in Diskobay, the captain, contrary to his engagement, refusing to land them near any of the mission-settlements. This ungenerous conduct on his part, was the more reprehensible, as there was every facility of landing them either at LICHTENFELS or NEW-HERRNHUT. Even the mate and sailors remonstrated with him on the cruelty of his behaviour; but to no purpose, for he continued his course day and night, and the only reply he made was: "never mind, they have the summer before them." The consequence was, that they had to travel back in a boat, coasting it all the way, six hundred miles to NEW-HERRNHUT, and ninety more to LICHTENFELS; and brother Kleinschmidt and his wife, after reaching NEW-HERRNHUT, had still to perform a voyage of five hundred miles, before they arrived at LICHTENAU, their place of residence. But, through the Lord's mercy they all got home before winter set in, though brother Kleinschmidt's party were four months in completing their voyage along this rocky and dangerous coast†. All the toils and perils of their journey were quickly forgotten, when they found themselves again in the midst of their brethren and sisters, and beheld the grace of God, which prevailed in the Greenland congregation.

* Brother Gorke had lived in Greenland before, but left it seven years ago to pay a visit to Europe, where he had been thus long detained in consequence of the war. The rest were new missionaries.

† *Per. Acct.* Vol. vi. p. 199.

The affairs of the mission had now again been brought into their regular course. Each of the three settlements had been provided with the requisite number of missionaries, and every anxious apprehension respecting their support had been removed, in consequence of the regular intercourse re-opened with Europe. Hereby our brethren were animated to renewed exertions in promoting the cause of God, and the best interests of their fellow-men, in these dreary regions.

Their time and attention were particularly occupied in devising means for enlarging the acquaintance of the natives with the doctrines of the Bible. A version of a Harmony of the four Gospels, together with select portions of the prophecies of Isaiah had been in use among them for several years. To add to their sources of information on scripture-truths, brother Gorke, about this time, translated a small duodecimo work, entitled, *Jesus, the Friend of Children*, being a short compendium of the Bible, and recommended by a society of pious ministers in Denmark, for distribution among the Greenlanders. But their chief concern was to furnish them with a good and correct translation of the New Testament; to which they were greatly encouraged by the kind offer, both of the British and foreign, and of the Edinburgh Bible Societies, to get the work printed for them. The execution of this important undertaking was committed to brother Kleinschmidt, who, by his long residence in the country, had obtained great proficiency in the language. His many other avocations, however, and his desire that the manuscript should be previously revised by the other missionaries, who possessed a competent knowledge of the language, have in some measure retarded its progress; but this temporary delay will eventually prove a real benefit, as it will tend to render the version more correct.

According to the latest intelligence received from our brethren in Greenland, and which brings down the history of this mission to the spring of 1817, it appears, that amidst the imperfections and occasional deviations of individual members of the congregation, the work of God was prospering in all the three settlements, and the word

of the cross displaying its converting and transforming power in old and young. The peace of God, unity of spirit, and a determination to spend their lives for the Lord Jesus Christ, prevailed among our missionaries; and they lived in habits of cordial love and friendship with the gentlemen of the Danish factories and all the colonists.

In November 1816, they had the joy to baptize an adult heathen, at NEW-HERRNHUT, a circumstance which had not occurred in that settlement for sixteen years, and on this account made a deeper and more solemn impression on all who witnessed this sacred transaction. In the same place the missionary, Henry Menzel, entered into the joy of his Lord, on the 21st of October 1816. He had laboured thirty three years with zeal and faithfulness in the Greenland mission.

Since the commencement of this mission, now upwards of eighty years ago, a very remarkable difference, has taken place in the state of the country, in a moral point of view. In the neighbourhood of NEW-HERRNHUT and LICHENFELS scarce any heathen reside, most of the inhabitants having been baptized either by the Danish missionaries or our brethren, and acquired a general knowledge of the truths of christianity. These settlements, therefore, may be considered as forming two christian congregations, the children and youths of which are baptized in infancy, and from their earliest years instructed in the doctrines of the gospel, and upon giving sufficient evidence of the sincerity of their profession, admitted to all the ordinances and privileges of the church. And our missionaries have had the pleasure of finding that hardly any of their young people, have entirely forsaken the fellowship of the faithful; for, though they might for a season remain spiritually dead, they have sooner or later been awakened by the Spirit of God, to a sense of their lost condition by nature and their need of a Saviour, and by his grace been taught to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this world. Thus has God's promise to his church been verified also in this country: "*Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children.*"

In LICHTENAU the case is in some degree different. Here there is still a large field for missionary labours, as a very considerable number of heathen reside in that neighbourhood. To them our brethren are daily proclaiming the unsearchable riches of Christ. Many pagans visit them, and behave with civility. For the most part indeed they come only to be supplied with the necessaries of life; here and there, however, a desire is excited for the bread of life, and the seed of the gospel falls now and then on good ground, where it produces the fruits of "repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ." Thus some heathen are annually embodied into the church by baptism.

The long intercourse of the natives with Europeans, added to the more potent influence of the gospel, has produced the most pleasing and striking change in their manners and general deportment. Along the whole extent of the western coast, the barbarities of savage life, and the enormities ever attending paganism, where it is dominant, are now rarely to be met with; and compared with the state of this country, eighty, or but fifty years ago, it may be called civilized. The nature and climate of this dreary region, no less than the methods by which the natives must procure their subsistence, necessarily preclude the introduction of most of the useful arts of civilized society. They can neither till the land, nor engage in manufactures. The former is denied them by the sterility of the rocks they inhabit, and the rigours of a polar sky; and the latter, with very few exceptions, are for the same reasons rendered useless. A Greenlander can neither live in the European manner, nor wear European cloathing. But it may be said with truth, (of which several proofs are to be found in the preceding history,) that the converted Greenlanders, by the habits of industry, which they have acquired since the introduction of the gospel among them, by their contentment amidst many privations and hardships, and by the charity displayed by the more affluent to their needy brethren, strikingly exemplify the doctrine of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, that in every circumstance, and in every nation, *godliness is great gain, having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.*

CHAP. II.

MISSION IN LABRADOR.

LABRADOR lies on the east side of Hudson's bay, extending from latitude 57° to 60° north. Although this latitude is not as high by several degrees as that of Greenland, yet the cold here is far more intense*. During the winter Fahrenheit's thermometer often falls thirty or more degrees below the O; and though the houses of the missionaries are heated by large cast-iron stoves, the windows and walls are all the winter covered with ice, and the bed-clothes freeze to the walls. Rum freezes in the air like water, and rectified spirits soon become thick like oil. From December to June the sea is so completely frozen over, that no open water is to be seen. Some of the missionaries venturing once, during the month of February, to make a journey from Nain to some Esquimaux, living at the distance of forty miles, endured extreme hardships from the cold. Though wrapped in furs, yet their eyelids froze together in such a manner that they were continually obliged to pull them asunder, and by constant rubbing prevent them from closing. One of them returned with a pain in his side; another with his hands frozen and swelled like a bladder; and it was a mercy of God, that their lives were preserved. It is no uncommon case for some of the natives to be found frozen to death in winter. The few summer months, on the other hand, are so much the hotter, the thermometer sometimes rising to the eighty sixth degree of Fahrenheit. Swarms of musketoos infest the air, whose sting frequently causes swelled faces.

* The reason assigned for this is, that the north-west wind, which is the severest, comes over an arm of the sea to our settlements in Greenland, by which means the cold is lessened: on the contrary this severe wind, which prevails the greater part of winter in Labrador, comes to that coast over an immense frozen continent. *Brief Account of Mission among Esquimaux Indians.*

The coast is but thinly inhabited; and the Esquimaux differ little in their general manners and mode of living from the Greenlanders, of whose language theirs is only a dialect. In summer, they live in tents like the Greenlanders, but their winter houses are differently formed. For this purpose they choose a large drift of snow, dig an oval hole in it, in size corresponding with the dimensions of the intended house. They then cut pieces of snow, three feet long, two in breadth, and one foot thick. These they place in the form of an arch over the hole. Instead of a window, they cut an aperture in the arch, in which they fix a slab of ice, and which gives tolerable light. The entrance into the dwelling is long, winding and very low, and a slab of frozen snow answers the purpose of a door. In the middle of the house they leave an elevation of about twenty inches high, which they cover with skins, and this serves them for a place to rest and sleep on. Since our brethren have settled in the country they have by degrees built winter-houses for themselves, constructed after the manner of those in Greenland, described in page 6.

For the purposes of travelling they make use of a sledge drawn by a species of dogs, resembling a wolf in shape. They never bark, but howl very disagreeably. They are kept by the Esquimaux, in greater or smaller packs, according to the wealth of the proprietor. They quietly submit to be harnessed, and are treated with no great mercy by the heathen, who make them do hard duty for but a scanty allowance of food. This consists chiefly of offals, old skins, entrails, &c.; or should their owner not be provided with these articles, they must shift for themselves, and seek dead fishes or muscles on the beach. When pinched with hunger they devour almost any thing; and on a journey it is necessary to secure the harness during the night, for otherwise the dogs will eat it, and thus render it impossible to proceed. In the evening, after being unharnessed, they are left to burrow in the snow wherever they please; and in the morning they are sure to return at the call of the driver, as they then receive some food. In putting them to the sledge, they are never suffered to go abreast, but tied by separate thongs of unequal lengths to a horizontal bar on the forepart of the

sledge; an old dog leads the way, running ten or twenty paces a-head, directed by the driver's whip, which is often twenty-four feet long, and can be well managed only by an expert Esquimaux. The other dogs follow like a flock of sheep; if one of them receives a lash, he generally bites his neighbour; and the bite goes round. Their strength and speed, even without food, are astonishing. The Esquimaux, however, find it more convenient to go from place to place in their boats, when the sea is open, than in their sledges over the ice, as they are thus less exposed to the cold. Their journeys therefore are more frequent in summer than in winter.

Their ideas relative to God, and religious and moral subjects, are as confined as those of their brethren in Greenland; and in their superstitious notions and practices there is no discernible difference between the two nations. In their pagan state the Esquimaux appear rather more depraved.

Their kajaks, skin-boats and other implements are of the same construction with those of the Greenlanders.

The missionary settlements lie on the eastern coast.

THE disposition on the part of the Brethren, to attempt the conversion of the Esquimaux, originated with our missionaries in Greenland, who were led to conjecture, that the Esquimaux were a branch of the Greenland nation. Matthew Stach, in particular, entered with great ardour into this scheme, and for that purpose applied, in the year 1752, to the Hudson's bay Company for permission to preach the gospel to the Indians belonging to their factories: but no attention was at that time paid to his application. In consequence of this failure some of our Brethren in London, joined by several well disposed merchants, fitted out a vessel to trade on the coast of Labrador. Christian Erhard, who, in the capacity of mate on board a Dutch ship, had been several voyages to Davis's Straits on the whale fishery, and had visited at New-

herrnhut, where he had learned a little Greenlandish, and was now residing in the Brethren's settlement at Zeist in Holland, offered himself to go with the vessel; and four other brethren expressed their willingness to settle on that coast, in order to learn the language and preach the gospel to the natives.

This company sailed from London on the 17th of May 1752, and on the last day of July entered a fine bay on the coast of Labrador, which in honour to one of the owners of the ship, is still called *Nisbet's Haven*. Here they resolved to settle, and for this purpose erected a house, the frame and materials of which they had brought with them. They called the place *HOPEDALE*. A few weeks after Erhard sailed farther to the north, for the purposes of trade. He could make himself tolerably understood by the Esquimaux; and as they were afraid to come on board, on account of the guns, he and five of the crew went, in an unarmed boat, into a bay between the islands. Here they were probably all murdered by the savages. As the captain had not another boat, no search could be made for them at that time; but on the return of the ship the next season, some of their remains were found, with evident marks upon them of having been murdered. This melancholy event obliged the captain to represent to those four brethren, who had come out as missionaries, that having lost six of his men, he could not return to Europe, unless they would consent to go with him, and assist in working the ship. Though they deeply regretted the necessity, yet under existing circumstances, they could not refuse his request. The ship sailed again to the coast the following year; and the house was found still standing, but it was not deemed expedient to renew the mission at that time.

The undertaking, however, though relinquished for a few years, was never lost sight of. Jens Haven, a missionary in Greenland, who even before he went to that country in 1758, had cherished an ardent desire for the conversion of the Esquimaux, was induced again to offer his services for this enterprise, after having learned the Greenland language. His offer being accepted by the

directors of the missions, he came to England in 1764. After many fruitless attempts to attain his object, he was at length recommended to the governor of Newfoundland, Sir Hugh Palliser, who received him with great kindness and offered him a passage on board his own ship. This, however, was declined by Haven who only requested a letter of recommendation to the governor of St. John's, which being readily complied with, he went with the first ship sailing for that station. The governor, immediately on his arrival, issued a proclamation in favour of our missionary, stating the object of his voyage to Labrador, and ordering that every assistance should be given him.* After various delays and vexations, he at last landed on the coast of Labrador, at Quirpont, where he arrived just in time to prevent a murderous plot. Some people had collected there, and were holding a council for the purpose of destroying the Esquimaux. He went boldly up to them, shewed the governor's proclamation, and succeeded, though not without difficulty, to divert them from their barbarous design.

His first interview with the natives excited the liveliest joy in our missionary. I shall relate it nearly in his own words: "September 4th 1764," saith he, "was the welcome day, when I saw an Esquimaux arrive in the harbour. I ran to meet him, addressed him in the most friendly manner in the Greenland language; and to my inexpressible joy found he understood me. I desired him to return, and bring four of the chiefs of his tribe with him, to which he readily consented. Meanwhile I put on my Greenland dress, and met them on the beach, inviting them to come on shore. They cried, "Here is an *Innuil* (a countryman of ours.)" I answered, "I am your countryman and friend." They seemed astonished, behaved very quietly, and I continued the conversation for a long time. At length they desired

* This proclamation contains the following sentence, "Hitherto the Esquimaux have been considered in no other light than as thieves and murderers, but as Mr. Haven has formed the laudable plan, not only of uniting these people with the English nation, but of instructing them in the christian religion; I require, by virtue of the power delegated to me, that all men, whomsoever it may concern, lend him all the assistance in their power." *Brief Account of Mission among Esquimaux Indians.*

me to accompany them to an island, about an hour's row from the shore, adding that there I should find their wives and children, who would receive me as a friend. This appeared rather a hazardous undertaking, but conceiving it to be of essential service to the missionary cause, that I should venture my life amongst them and endeavour to become better acquainted with their nation, I confidently turned to the Lord in prayer, and thought within myself, 'I will go with them in *thy* name; if they kill me, my work on earth will be done, and I shall live with *thee*, but if they spare my life, I will firmly believe, that it is *thy* will, they should hear and embrace the gospel.' I accordingly went, and as soon as we arrived there, all set up a shout, *our friend is come*. They carried me on shore and beset me so closely on all sides, that I could neither stir nor turn. Having prevailed on them to place themselves in rows before me, I explained to them my object in coming to visit them, promising, that if they were willing to be taught, I would return next spring with more of my brethren, build a house on their land, and daily discourse with them of the way to life and happiness *."

Having entered into much agreeable conversation with them, Haven returned to Quirpont, where he stayed about a fortnight, and several times preached to the boat's crew. On his arrival in Newfoundland, Sir H. Palliser and the board of trade, expressed their entire approbation of his proceedings, and their wish soon to see a mission established there. Haven, therefore, made a second voyage to that country the ensuing year, accompanied by Christian Laurence Drachart, formerly one of the Danish missionaries in Greenland, and two other brethren. They penetrated farther into the interior; and on their return to the English ships, met with several hundred Esquimaux, to whom they preached the gospel, not without apparent impression. Greatly, however, as the formation of a mission in this country was desired, not only by the brethren, but also by several persons of rank in England; various difficulties still impeded its establishment for some years.

* Per. Acct. Vol. ii. p. 105.

During this season of suspense, some Esquimaux came in the year 1768 to Chateau bay and renewed their practices of robbing and murdering. They were attacked by a party of English; some were killed, others made prisoners and carried to Newfoundland. Three of the latter, a woman and her two sons, the one about thirteen and the other six years of age, were brought to England. The elder of these two boys, whose name was *Karpik*, was presented by Sir H. Palliser to the Brethren's Society, in London, for the furtherance of the gospel among the heathen. He possessed great vivacity, quickness of apprehension and docility, and though at times rather sullen and obstinate, showed in general much good nature. Being placed in the Brethren's School at Fulneck in Yorkshire, he was taught reading and writing, in which he attained considerable proficiency. The instructions he received on religious subjects likewise made a salutary impression on his mind; he was often greatly affected, and would ask many pertinent questions. Here he was taken ill with the small-pox. During this sickness he was made partaker of holy baptism, according to his earnest request. The ceremony was performed in the Esquimaux language by one of the missionaries, then waiting to proceed to Labrador. Soon after he departed this life, calling on the name of the Lord, in the year 1769. Our brethren regretted this event, because it disappointed their hopes of seeing this youth, in time, become a useful servant of Jesus, among his countrymen.

His mother, Mikak, was treated with great kindness in England, and received many favours from some of the royal family and other persons of distinction. Her joy was great when meeting with the missionary Haven, as he could converse with her in her native tongue. She importuned him to return and help her poor country men, whom she described as being in the most ruinous condition. Her repeated applications to those persons in power, by whom she was noticed, had considerable influence in forwarding the projected mission. The consequence was, that, on the report of the board of trade to the privy council, a resolution was taken concerning the establishment of a mission in Labrador; and on the eighth

of May, 1769, an order in council was issued to this effect: "That the land desired in Esquimaux bay, "should be granted to the Unitas Fratrum and their society for the furtherance of the gospel among the heathen, "and they be protected in their laudable undertaking *."

Every facility being thus offered by government for establishing a mission on this coast, some of our brethren in London and other places formed a company, in order to fit out a ship, to convey the missionaries to Labrador, and make an annual voyage thither for the purpose of supplying them with provisions and carrying on a trade with the natives. They purchased a brig of about a hundred and twenty tons burden. In her the three missionaries, Jens Haven, Lawrence Drachart and Stephen Jensen sailed to Labrador in 1770, merely for the purpose of exploring the coast, and fixing on a proper spot where to build. They landed on an island, where they met with a number of Esquimaux, who at first behaved with great insolence, till awed by the report of the ship's guns. A couple of days after they again ventured to go on shore, met the natives in a friendly manner, and preached the gospel to them. In sailing from the island to the main land, though but a distance of a few miles, they were exposed to great danger, in sailing between a number of isles and concealed rocks along an unknown coast, without chart or pilot; but were mercifully preserved, and safely reached a harbour on the eastern extremity of that continent, to which they gave the name of *Unity Harbour*. Having discovered a piece of land near this harbour, suitable for a missionary settlement, they found the Esquimaux not only willing to sell it to them, but very desirous that a company of brethren might come the next season and take possession of it. Filled with gratitude to the Lord, who had so graciously prospered their enterprise, they returned to England; but it was only to spend the winter in making the needful preparations for carrying their design into full effect. During this interval, brother Haven married, and the offer of several other brethren besides those mentioned above, to join themselves to the

* Brethren's History, Vol. i. p. 608.

mission, was accepted with humble thanks to the Lord for inclining so many of his people, to sacrifice all the comforts of civilized society, and venture themselves among savages, where, besides a thousand other hardships, they might be hourly exposed to perish in their very attempts to humanize these wretched barbarians, and teach them the knowledge of God and our Saviour. The whole company consisted of three married couples, a widower and seven single brethren being in all fourteen persons; some of whom went out as assistants to the mission, in managing its external concerns. In their company was also a physician and surgeon. Having been commended to the grace of God, at a solemn meeting in the brethren's chapel in Fetter-lane, they left London on the 8th of May, 1771, and sailed in the brig, Amity, for Labrador, touching at St. John's in Newfoundland. Their voyage was tedious; and the latter part of it rendered hazardous, as frequent storms obliged them to run into unknown bays, where they were often environed with large fields and mountains of ice. They however reached the coast in safety, on the 9th of August.

The next day they went on shore at the place chosen by Haven the preceding year, and immediately commenced erecting their house, the entire frame of which, together with bricks and every other requisite they had brought with them from England; and towards the end of September, the building was so far completed, that they could inhabit two rooms. They surrounded it with pallisades; for, as one of them writes* "*their situation was critical, it was as if each with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other held a weapon;*" for they found it needful to be constantly upon their guard against a nation to whom robbery and murder had become habitual. These apprehensions at this time, however, were needless, for they soon discovered a striking difference between the natives now, and at their first visit to them. Formerly they were bold and impudent, looked upon the Europeans as dogs, and called them *barbarians*, but themselves they stiled *men*; but now they were quiet and mo-

* Brief Account, &c.

dest, expressed their desire to hear the *Good News*, and shewed of their own accord, that they had no deadly weapons secreted either in their clothes or kajaks.

The place our missionaries chose for their habitation, and to which they gave the name of NAIN, is so situated, that both the *Nuenguak* tribe, who reside in the islands, and the other Esquimaux, who usually travel from the South to the North, can pass through the settlement.

Our missionaries did not neglect their proper calling, but improved every opportunity for preaching to the natives, especially brother Drachart, who was the greatest proficient in the language, and devoted himself wholly to this work. The Esquimaux generally listened to it with silence and expressed their astonishment. And though a few treated it with contempt, yet in some instances, our brethren had good reason to hope, that the seed of the word would not remain wholly unproductive. Notwithstanding the excessive cold in winter, some of them ventured to cross the ice and snow in order to visit the heathen, who entertained them very hospitably, and they, in their turn, visited in great numbers at the mission-settlement.

The friendly intercourse thus opened between the missionaries and the natives, was at least attended with this good effect, that the latter gained such confidence towards our brethren, that they asked their advice in all difficult cases, and even chose them as arbitrators in their disputes, forming a resolution among themselves, in future to refer all their differences to the missionaries, and submit to their decision. The fame of the settlement and its inhabitants spread far into the country, as the following occurrence will serve to show. The Rev. P. E. Layritz having, agreeably to the wish of the directors of our missions, undertaken to hold a visitation of this new establishment, in 1773, the sloop, in which he and his company were, was approaching the southern side of the coast near camp island. Several of the inhabitants met them in their boats in the most friendly and peaceable manner, though the tribe, occupying this part of the country, was consi-

dered the most savage, thievish and murderous. They invited brother Layritz and his company to come on shore, listened with eager attention to his discourse, which was interpreted by the missionary Beck, and promised to visit NAIN, in order to hear more of these good words. Some of them had been there last winter, and declared that brother Drachart had told them the very same words.

During this visitation Lieutenant Curtis was sent by the governor of Newfoundland, to inquire into the situation of our brethren and survey the coast. At his desire the heads of families, about thirty in number, were convened, and informed that the governor had given orders, that all who were guilty of murdering or stealing, should in future be punished with death, and that none of them should go to the South, without acquainting the missionaries with it, and obtaining a certificate from them. To these orders, they promised willing obedience, and added: "It is right that a murderer, or thief, be punished with death, for he deserves it; but since we have heard the gospel of Jesus, we have no more murdered or stolen, and we will not do it any more in future*."

The missionaries observed with pleasure, that the confidence and attachment of the Esquimaux to them increased more and more. When they undertook a journey they committed their most valuable commodities to their care, and even left their wives and children under their inspection, till they returned. This induced our brethren to build a store-house for them, where they might lay up provisions against winter, and thus be able to reside with them during that season, and daily hear the word of God.

Although at the close of the second year of their residence among them, they could not discover clear evidences of real conversion in any of them, so as to render them proper subjects for baptism; yet appearances even then encouraged pleasing hopes for the future. Many of those dwelling

* Brief Account, &c.

near NAIN, were often much affected during the sermon, and expressed profound awe and reverence for the name of Jesus; but it was difficult to convince them of the evil of sin, and the innate depravity of the heart. Their moral habits, however, were considerably ameliorated. Formerly no European would have ventured to be alone with the Esquimaux, or spend a night with them on any consideration; but now our brethren often passed several days and nights successively with them, preached the gospel, boldly reproved them, and even silenced the *Angekoks*, or sorcerers, while performing their superstitious rites and incantations. These of course employed all their diabolical arts to prevent their countrymen from receiving the gospel.

This rendered the following occurrence, the more remarkable. A man, whose name was Anauke, departed this life, calling on the name of Jesus. The first time our missionaries saw him at Chateau-bay, four years before, he had all the appearance of a thief and murderer; but after hearing the gospel several times, so striking a change took place in him, that his very features lost their ferocity. In 1772 he pitched his tent in NAIN, and stayed there till November, when he removed to his winter house; but some time after returned on foot,* with no other view than to hear the gospel. As it is impossible to travel during the first months of winter, they heard nothing of Anauke till his wife came to the settlement in February, and related, "that when her husband fell sick in December, he prayed earnestly to the Saviour, and not only shewed no fear of death, but even declared, that he had no wish to live any longer in this world, but would rather go to his Saviour." When his wife, observing his end to be approaching, began to howl and cry, according to the custom of the heathen, exclaiming, "O my dear husband, wilt thou leave me and thy two children?" he calmly replied, "Weep not, I go to the Saviour, who loves men so much." He would not suffer

* This is a strong evidence of his eagerness to hear the gospel, as the Esquimaux are not accustomed to travel on foot; in summer they go in their boats, and in winter on sledges.

an angekok * to come near him during his sickness. This is the more striking, as he had no christian friend at hand to instruct him, and none were present, whom he might wish to please by speaking of Jesus. The angekok himself related it to the missionary with considerable displeasure. The deceased was ever after known among the natives by the appellation of *The man, whom the Saviour took to himself*†.

This occurrence encouraged our missionaries to select from among their hearers such as appeared the most seriously impressed with divine truths, and to form them into a class of Catechumens, in order to give them more particular instruction, and prepare them for holy baptism. They also resolved to erect a proper chapel, spacious enough to accommodate some hundred hearers, as the room in their house, hitherto used for that purpose, was not sufficiently large.

They likewise began to build boats, and make various implements and utensils for the Esquimaux, hoping thereby to introduce a degree of civilization among them, to prevent their going to the south to steal boats, and also in a small measure to lessen the expenses of the mission, by bartering these articles to the natives for whalebone and blubber.

In the year 1774, four of the missionaries undertook a voyage for the purpose of exploring the coast to the north of NAIN. This expedition was attended with most melancholy consequences. After enduring incredible disasters and escaping many imminent dangers, they suffered shipwreck on their return, the vessel being driven on a rock, where she remained fixed, and finally broke. After spending a most anxious night, they betook themselves early the next morning to the boat. This was likewise dashed against the rocks. Two of them, the brethren, Brasen and Lehman lost their lives; the other two, Haven and Lister, together with the sailors, saved themselves by swimming, and reached a barren rock. Here

* These sorcerers are also the physicians of the Esquimaux, and make use of certain spells and incantations for the recovery of their patients.

† Brief Account, &c.

they suffered incredibly from hunger and excessive cold, and must inevitably have perished, had they not found it practicable to draw the boat on the rock, and so far to repair the damage she had sustained, as to venture themselves into her, on the fourth day after their shipwreck. The wind was in their favour; and they had the good fortune to be observed by an Esquimaux in his *ka-jak*, who towed them into the harbour of NAIN.

Unappalled by this calamity, Haven and Lister, accompanied by brother Beck, the following spring, ventured on another reconnoitering voyage along the south coast, penetrated as far as Old Hopedale, (mentioned page 69) and after some search found a place near Avertok, more eligible for a missionary settlement than any yet discovered.

But, before the directors of our missions could consider the expediency of occupying this station, they had commissioned brother Haven to begin a new settlement at OKKAK, about one hundred and fifty miles to the north of NAIN. Accompanied by brother Stephen Jensen, he proceeded thither in the summer of 1775. They purchased the land from the Esquimaux, fixed the boundaries of it, and the following year established themselves in this place. They immediately began to preach the gospel to the heathen in the neighbourhood, and though the progress of conversion here as well as at NAIN, was but slow, yet it was sufficient to preserve the zeal and animate the hope of our missionaries. In 1781 there belonged to the congregation at OKKAK thirty eight baptized Esquimaux, and about ten catechumens.

In the year 1782, two of the missionaries experienced a very striking preservation of their lives.

Early on March the 11th, the brethren Liebisch and Turner left NAIN to go to OKKAK, a journey of one hundred and fifty miles. They travelled in a sledge drawn by dogs, and another sledge with Esquimaux joined them, the whole party consisting of five men, one woman and a child. Every thing seemed to favour the undertaking;

the weather was fine and remarkably serene, and the track over the frozen sea was in the best order, so that they travelled at the rate of six or seven miles an hour. All therefore were in good spirits, hoping to reach *Оккак* in two or three days. Having passed the islands in the bay, they kept at a considerable distance from the shore, both to gain the smoothest part of the ice, and to avoid the high and rocky promontory of Kiglapeit. About eight o'clock they met a sledge with Esquimaux driving towards the land; who obscurely intimated that it might be well not to proceed. But as our missionaries saw no reason for it, they paid no regard to these hints, and went on. In a while, however, their own Esquimaux remarked, that there was a swell under the ice. It was then hardly perceptible, except on applying the ear close to the ice, when a hollow, grating and roaring noise was heard, as if ascending from the abyss. The weather remained clear, except towards the east, where a bank of light clouds appeared, interspersed with some dark streaks. But as the wind blew hard from the north-west, no sudden change of weather was expected. The sun had now reached his height, and there was as yet little or no alteration in the appearance of the sky. But the motion of the sea under the ice had grown so perceptible as rather to alarm our travellers, and they began to think it prudent to keep closer to the shore. The ice in many places, had fissures and cracks some of which formed chasms of one or two feet wide, but as they are not uncommon even in the best state, and the dogs easily leap over them, the sledge following without danger, they are terrible only to new comers.

As soon as the sun declined, the wind increased and rose to a storm, the bank of clouds from the east began to ascend, and the dark streaks put themselves in motion against the wind. The snow was driven about by partial whirlwinds, both on the ice and from off the peaks of the high mountains, and filled the air. At the same time the swell had increased so much, that its effects upon the ice became very extraordinary and alarming. The sledges, instead of gliding along smoothly upon an even surface, sometimes ran with violence after the dogs, and shortly after seemed with difficulty to ascend the rising hill, for

the elasticity of so vast a body of ice, of many leagues square, supported by a troubled sea, though in some places three or four yards in thickness, would, in some degree, occasion an undulatory motion, not unlike that of a sheet of paper accomodating itself to the surface of a rippling stream. Noises were now likewise heard in many directions, like the report of cannon, owing to the bursting of the ice at some distance.

The Esquimaux, therefore, drove with all haste towards the shore, intending to take up their night-quarters on the south side of the Nirak. But, as it plainly appeared the ice would break and disperse in the open sea, Mark, (who drove the sledge of the missionaries) advised to push forward to the north of the Nirak, from whence he hoped the track to *Оккак* might still remain entire. To this proposal the company agreed, but when the sledges approached the coast, the prospect before them was truly terrific. The ice, having broken loose from the rocks, was forced up and down, grinding and breaking into a thousand pieces against the precipices, with a tremendous noise, which added to the raging of the wind, and the snow driving about in the air, nearly deprived the travellers of the power of hearing and seeing any thing distinctly.

To make the land at any risk, was now the only hope left, but it was with the utmost difficulty the affrighted dogs could be forced forward, the whole body of the ice sinking frequently below the rocks, then rising above them. As the only moment to land was that when the ice gained the level of the coast, the attempt was extremely nice and hazardous. However, by God's mercy, it succeeded; both sledges gained the shore, and were drawn up the beach, though with much difficulty.

The travellers had hardly time to reflect with gratitude to God on their safety, when ~~that~~ part of the ice, from which they had just now made good their landing, burst asunder, and the water forcing itself from below, covered and precipitated it into the sea. In an instant, as if by a signal given, the whole mass of ice, extending

for several miles from the coast, and as far as the eye could reach, burst, and was overwhelmed by the rolling waves. The sight was tremendous and awfully grand, the large fields of ice, raising themselves out of the water, striking against each other, and plunging into the deep, with a violence not to be described, and a noise like the discharge of innumerable batteries of heavy guns. The darkness of the night, the roaring of the wind and sea, and the dashing of the waves and ice against the rocks, filled the travellers with sensations of awe and horror, so as almost to deprive them of the power of utterance. They stood overwhelmed with astonishment at their miraculous escape, and even the heathen Esquimaux expressed gratitude to God for their deliverance.

The Esquimaux now began to build a snow-house, about thirty paces from the beach, but before they had finished their work, the waves reached the place where the sledges were secured, and they were with difficulty saved from being washed into the sea.

About nine o'clock all of them crept into the snow-house, thanking God for this place of refuge; for the wind was piercingly cold, and so violent, that it required great strength to stand against it.

Before they entered this habitation, they could not help once more turning their eyes to the sea, which was now free from ice. They beheld with horror, mingled with gratitude for their safety, the enormous waves driving furiously before the wind, like huge castles, and approaching the shore, where, with dreadful noise, they dashed against the rocks, foaming and filling the air with spray. The whole company now got their supper, and having sung an evening hymn in the Esquimaux language, lay down to rest about ten o'clock. The Esquimaux were soon fast asleep, but brother Liebisch could not get any rest, partly on account of the dreadful roaring of the wind, and partly owing to a sore throat, which gave him much pain.

The wakefulness of the missionary proved the deliverance of the whole party from sudden destruction. About

two o'clock in the morning, brother Liebisch perceived some salt water dropping from the roof of the snow-house upon his lips. On a sudden a tremendous surf broke close to the house, discharging a quantity of water into it; a second soon followed, and carried away the slab of snow placed as a door before the entrance. The missionaries having roused the sleeping Esquimaux, they instantly set to work. One of them with a knife cut a passage through the side of the house, and each seizing some part of the baggage, threw it out on a higher part of the beach; brother Turner assisting them. Brother Liebisch and the woman and child fled to a neighbouring eminence. The latter were wrapped up by the Esquimaux in a large skin, and the former took shelter behind a rock, for it was impossible to stand against the wind, snow and sleet. Scarcely had the company retreated, when an enormous wave carried away the whole house.

They now found themselves a second time delivered from the most imminent danger of death; but the remaining part of the night, before the Esquimaux could seek and find another and safer place for a snow-house, were hours of great distress, and very painful reflections. Before the day dawned, the Esquimaux cut a hole in a large drift of snow, to serve as a shelter to the woman and child and the two missionaries. Brother Liebisch, however, owing to the pain in his throat, could not bear the closeness of the air, and was obliged to sit down at the entrance, being covered with skins, to guard him against the cold.

As soon as it was light, they built another snow-house, and miserable as such an accommodation must be, they were glad and thankful to creep into it.

The missionaries had taken but a small stock of provisions with them, merely sufficient for the short journey to OKKAK. Joel, his wife and child, and Kassigiak the sorcerer had nothing. They were obliged therefore, to divide the small stock into daily portions, especially as there appeared no hopes of soon quitting this place and reaching any dwellings. Only two ways were left for this purpose, either to attempt the land passage across

the wild and unfrequented mountain of Kiglapeit, or wait for a new ice-track over the sea, which it might require much time to form. They therefore resolved, to serve out no more than a biscuit and a half per day to each. The missionaries remained in the snow-house, and every day endeavoured to boil so much water over their lamps, as might supply them with two cups of coffee a piece. Through mercy they were preserved in good health, and quite unexpectedly, brother Liebisch recovered on the first day of his sore throat. The Esquimaux also kept up their spirits, and even Kassigiak, though a wild heathen, declared, that it was proper to be thankful that they were still alive; adding, that if they had remained a little longer on the ice yesterday, all their bones would have been broken in a short time.

Towards noon of the 13th. the weather cleared up, and the sea was seen as far as the eye could reach, quite clear and free from ice. Mark and Joel went up the hill to reconnoitre, and returned with the disagreeable news, that not a single piece of ice was to be seen in any direction, and that it had been forced away even from the coast at Nuasornak. They were therefore of opinion, that they could do nothing but force their way across the mountain of Kiglapeit.

Towards evening some flakes of ice were observed driving towards the coast, and on the 14th, in the morning, the sea was covered with them. But the weather being very stormy, the Esquimaux could not quit the snow-house, which made them very low-spirited and melancholy. Kassigiak suggested, that it would be well to attempt to make good weather, by which he meant to practise his art, as a sorcerer. This the missionaries opposed, telling him that his heathenish practices were of no use, but that the weather would become favourable as soon as it should please God. The weather continuing extremely boisterous, the Esquimaux were ready to sink under their disappointment. They, however, possess one advantage, namely, the power of going to sleep when they please, and, if need be, they will sleep for days and nights together.

In the evening of the 15th the sky became clear, and their hopes revived. Mark and Joel went out to reconnoitre, and reported that the ice had acquired a considerable degree of solidity, and might soon afford a safe passage. The poor dogs had now nearly fasted four days, but in the prospect of a speedy release, the missionaries allowed to each a few morsels of food. The temperature of the air having been rather mild, it occasioned a new source of distress, for by the warm exhalations of the inhabitants, the roof of the snow-house began to melt, which occasioned a continual dropping, and by degrees made every thing soaking wet. The missionaries considered this the greatest hardship they had to endure, for they had not a dry thread about them, nor a dry place to lie in.

On the 16th early the sky cleared, but the fine particles of snow were driven about like clouds. Joel and Kassigak resolved to pursue their journey to *Оккак*, by the way of Nuasornak, and set out with the wind and snow full in their faces. Mark could not resolve to proceed further north, because in his opinion the violence of the wind must have driven the ice off the coast at Tikkerarsuk, so as to render it impossible to land; but thought he might find a track to the south, and get round Kiglapeit. The missionaries endeavoured to persuade him to follow the above-mentioned company to *Оккак*, but it was in vain; and they did not feel at liberty to insist upon it, not being sufficiently acquainted with the circumstances. Their present distress dictated the necessity of venturing something to reach the habitations of men, and yet they were rather afraid of passing over the newly frozen sea, under Kiglapeit, and could not determine what to do. Brother Turner went again with Mark to examine the ice, and both seemed satisfied that it had acquired sufficient strength. They therefore came to a final resolution to return to *NAIN*, committing themselves to the protection of the Lord.

Notwithstanding the wind had considerably increased accompanied with heavy showers of snow and sleet, they ventured to set off at half-past ten o'clock in the forenoon

of the 19th. Mark ran all the way round Kiglapeit before the sledge to find a good track, and about one o'clock, through God's mercy, they were out of danger, and reached the Bay. Here they found a good track upon smooth ice, and made a meal upon the remnant of their provisions. Thus refreshed, they resolved to proceed without stopping till they reached NAIN, where they arrived at twelve o'clock at night.

It may easily be conceived with what gratitude to God the whole family at NAIN bade them welcome. During the storm, they had considered with some dread, what might be the fate of their brethren, though its violence was not felt as much there as on a coast unprotected by any islands. Added to this, the hints of the Esquimaux had considerably increased their apprehensions for their safety, and their fears began to get the better of their hopes. All, therefore, joined most fervently in praise and thanksgiving to God, for this signal deliverance.

The ensuing summer the brethren began a third missionary establishment on the coast to the south of NAIN, which they called HOPEDALE. For this purpose they purchased from the Esquimaux, that tract of land, which had been formerly reconnoitred and deemed peculiarly eligible for a settlement*. They were encouraged to this extension of their labours, in consequence of the eagerness then manifested by the heathen in that vicinity to hear the gospel, and in the fond hope, that by this means a communication might be opened between them and the so-called Red-Indians, who live in the interior, and now and then approach the coast in small parties. This latter object, however, has hitherto remained unattainable. And even with respect to the Esquimaux themselves, our missionaries had for several years to deplore their rejection of the gospel, so that in 1790 it even appeared as if they had entirely withdrawn from these parts. This unpromising state of things led both the missionaries and the society, (in London) for the furtherance of the gospel among the heathen, to consider the expediency of relinquishing this

* See page 79.

settlement altogether. The Lord, however, directed otherwise; and in the sequel HOPEDALE was the very place, where the new awakening among the Esquimaux commenced, and from thence spread to the other two settlements.

In 1790 many horrid murders were committed in the North. The natives fell upon each other in their tents by night, and numbers were massacred in the most barbarous manner. Amidst the alarm, which this event spread through the country, our missionaries were not a little encouraged by the remarks made by the Esquimaux, who resided on their land. They expressed their gratitude, that the brethren had settled in the country, adding: "As many murders would certainly have been committed here if you had not come and brought us the good news of our Creator and Redeemer, of his love to us, and our duty to love him and our neighbour."

About six years after, our brethren had a very trying period. An epidemical disease broke out among the natives, and raged through the whole country for some months. All the settlements were visited by it, and it attacked not only the Esquimaux, but also the Europeans; in their case, however, its violence was considerably mitigated. They were obliged for several weeks almost totally to suspend their usual meetings for divine service as the Esquimaux could not leave their dwellings. It proved a source of great grief to them, to find that some of their people, when the medicine administered did not immediately produce the desired effect, had recourse to their old heathenish and superstitious practices for recovery. With few exceptions, however, they afterwards confessed their sinful deviations, and with every mark of true penitency, begged to be reconciled to the congregation. In our settlements the disorder was not generally fatal, only three or four dying in consequence of it; but among the heathen its violence was greater and the deaths more frequent. Notwithstanding their excessive dread of death, the gospel as yet found no entrance among them. They indeed acknowledged the necessity of conversion if they would have any solid hope of happiness beyond the grave; but the impression was soon effaced, and they seldom came near the missionaries.

During this period the Esquimaux, William Tuglavina, and his wife Mikak died at NAIN, the latter in 1794 and the former in 1799. They had been noted characters, both among their countrymen, and at the mission. Mikak, who during her visit in London, was instrumental in promoting the establishment of the mission*, continued to render essential services to the missionaries on their arrival in Labrador in 1771, and for some time was an attentive hearer of the gospel. Expressing an apparently sincere desire to obtain true conversion of heart; she was admitted to the class of candidates for baptism. But removing soon after to the South, she lost her good impressions, relapsed into heathenism and seldom came near our brethren. The last ten days of her life she spent in NAIN, where she was faithfully attended by one of the missionaries. Her declaration and conduct were such as to encourage the hope, that she had found mercy with God our Saviour †.

Of her husband the missionaries give the following account: "Tuglavina, now called William, was, from the beginning well acquainted with the missionaries. He was a man of great note among the Esquimaux, and acquired extraordinary influence and power, not only by his activity, dexterity and success in hunting, his courage, bodily strength and hardiness, which are considered the most essential qualifications of a great man among the Indians; but also by a remarkable strength of mind, and quickness of understanding, far superior to that of most of his countrymen. He took advantage of their credulity, and general mental inferiority, to gain an astonishing ascendancy over them; and his word was absolute law. As a sorcerer, he was believed to have extraordinary powers given him by the Torngak, or familiar spirit, whom he pretended to consult on all occasions; and so little did the poor deluded savages mistrust his inspirations, that it has often happened, that if he declared on the word of his *Torngak*, that such an one ought not to live, the wretched object of his vengeance was instantly murdered by the company. Thus he not only became

* See p. 72. † Per. Acc. Vol. ii. p. 170.

guilty of the murder of several persons by his own hands ; but of many more, through his influence and insinuations. Our missionaries would have fallen an easy prey to his murderous disposition, had God permitted him to disapprove of their settling in the country, But, though, a tyrant among his own nation, and in various ways a great disturber of the peace of the mission, and seducer of many converts, he always respected and even loved the missionaries. He would submit, and even tremble in their presence, whenever reprov'd for his bad conduct ; always confessing, that he ought to be converted, and to forsake the ways of sin.

As an instance of his submission to the missionaries, brother Haven mentions in one of his reports, that when Tuglavina, at the head of a party of Esquimaux, returned the first time from Chateau Bay, having furnished himself with a sloop of two masts, European arms, and many other accoutrements ; he stepped unexpectedly into the Mission-House, and into brother Haven's room, dressed in an old officer's uniform, with a bob-wig and a huge laced hat, a sword to his side, and altogether in the habit of a European officer, uttering several threats, and boasting of his valiant deeds in the South. Brother Haven looking sternly at him, exclaimed, "What, are you Tuglavina ! depart this minute ; I have nothing to say to you in this dress ; put on your old Esquimaux furs, and then return ; behave like a sober Esquimaux, and I'll answer your speech." Tuglavina instantly left the room, as if thunderstruck ; and without reflecting on the degrading appearance he must make before his countrymen, in putting off his boasted ornaments, returned to the missionaries, dressed in the plain Esquimaux fashion ; who then most earnestly reprov'd him for the wicked practices and murders of which he had been guilty, and for inveigling so many of the baptized to follow him to the South, where he had seduced them into all manner of heathenish abominations. During this address, Tuglavina grew pale, trembled exceedingly, confessed himself an abominable sinner ; but said that he *must* sin, for the devil forced him to it, and he could not help himself. This gave the missionary a desirable opportunity of preaching Jesus unto

him, as the only Saviour. Such opportunities became more frequent in the following years; and he often shed tears when confessing his wicked deeds, which he never denied, according to the general practice of the Esquimaux. In the sequel he became more attentive to the gospel, did every thing in his power to serve the missionaries, and though often hurried into the commission of sin, and by his great reputation among his countrymen, beguiled into conceit, and prevented from humbling himself under the mighty hand of God, yet it was apparent that the Lord followed him, to make him a monument of infinite mercy. At length he gave such proofs of his sincerity and firm resolution to turn with his whole heart unto the Lord, and forsake the ways and even the conversation of the heathen; that our brethren could not but consider this sinner, though so heavily laden with the most enormous crimes, as an object of God's mercy and pardon, and a candidate for eternal life: and after the usual time of trial, as an inhabitant of the settlement, and many serious conversations, and previous instruction, he was received into the fellowship of the believers, on christmas day 1793; renouncing the devil and all his works, and promising, with heart and hand, to devote himself unto that God, who made and bought him with his precious blood. He had been baptized in Chateau Bay by a Presbyterian minister, during a dangerous illness*.

“ After his admission to the Lord's Supper, his conduct and expressions of gratitude for all the mercies bestowed upon him, proved very pleasing and encouraging to the missionaries. He evinced a cordial interest in the conversion of his countrymen, and frequently addressed them on the concerns of their souls with such earnestness as no Esquimaux had ever done before. The following year, however, he relapsed, and his conduct was so grossly offensive, that it became necessary to exclude him from the Lord's table for some time, till he shewed, not only by his words but by his whole behaviour, that he sincerely repented of his deviation. In his last illness, he declared,

'that he was ready to go to Jesus, and hoped that the Saviour would not reject him.' He repeatedly testified, 'that he was happy and put his trust alone in God our Saviour.' As his bodily pain increased, he frequently called on the Lord to release him and take him to himself. He was about sixty years of age when he died *."

Towards the close of 1800 an event occurred at HOPEDALE of the most melancholy nature. The missionary J. W. Reiman, having gone out on the 2nd of December to procure some fresh provisions by shooting, returned no more, and as no one was with him, his brethren could only conjecture, that he must have lost his life by the ice breaking under him. This conjecture received additional probability from the account given by four Esquimaux, who, when he did not return in the evening, went in search of him, and continued the search the whole night. They reported that by the light of the moon, they could discern the marks of his feet in several places, but lost them again when they came to the ice. As soon as it was light the next morning, the missionaries, accompanied by all the Esquimaux, set off to make a general search, and were favoured with the continuance of fine weather; but their search was as fruitless as that of the preceding night. They keenly felt their loss of him; nor could any thing assuage their grief but the divine consolations they experienced.

In the diary of HOPEDALE, of 1803, a pleasing instance is related of the mild and forgiving spirit of the gospel. In a conversation which took place among some of the converts, in the presence of a missionary, many disputes were amicably settled, and quarrels prevented. They showed a readiness to confess their grievances and faults to each other, and a sincere disposition mutually to forgive and forget them, and begin anew in the spirit of brotherly love, to bear with each other. "This circumstance was the more striking," say the missionaries, "as the custom of the Esquimaux is, to suppress their displeasure, and even to feign indifference on receiving injuries, but to watch an op-

portunity for revenge, which breaks out in the most diabolical and murderous retaliation, perhaps ten or twelve years after the offence has been given, if no earlier opportunity presents itself.

The following horrible incident forms a melancholy contrast to the benign influence of religion just related. Intelligence was brought to our missionaries at OKKAK, in January 1806, from Kivalek, that the old sorcerer, Uive-runna, had spent the winter there, he and his family being the only residents. Here his wife died; upon which the old monster seized a poor orphan-child, whom he had formerly adopted. Having murdered it, he cut it across all the joints of the fingers and toes, ripped open the belly and threw the body naked into the sea. "Though we are not acquainted with his motives for so atrocious an act," write our missionaries, "yet we know, that it belongs to that system of diabolical incantations, by which he expects to appease the devil, by whom he pretends to do great wonders, but who now, according to his notions, required a greater sacrifice than usual, as he had not saved the life of his wife." He did not long escape the punishment he so amply deserved. Having of late endeavoured to render himself formidable among the heathen, by making them believe he had power to kill whomsoever he pleased, as he never failed, when any died, to have it reported, that *he* had sent them out of the world by his torngak, or familiar spirit; and being also known as an old murderer, many had resolved to kill him as soon as a fit opportunity should offer. Among other lies he sometime ago pretended, that by his sorceries he had killed Kugalek's two wives, who died on one day. Ever since Kugalek sought for revenge; and being joined by another man, they succeeded in despatching the old sorcerer, shortly after he had murdered the infant as above stated*.

Hitherto the conversion of the heathen in Labrador had not only proceeded very slowly, but been attended with many discouraging circumstances. Our missionaries had patiently persevered in preaching to the natives, and

* Per. Acct. Vol. iv. p. 258.

watching every opportunity to make them attentive to the best interests of their souls; but had reaped little fruit from their labours. Visits were frequent, and there was in general no want of hearers to address, but they showed no disposition to be instructed. If even a salutary impression was occasionally made on their minds, it was not abiding. Some families were indeed collected in the different settlements, but after staying there during the winter, they mostly moved away again in summer, and apparently forgot all they had heard. A few had been baptized and admitted to the Lord's table, yet even these caused the missionaries more grief than pleasure. They had no power to resist the temptations, placed in their way, when associating with the heathen during their summer excursions. This often obliged the missionaries to exclude them from fellowship with the believers. In case of sickness, they were but too ready to have recourse to the superstitious tricks of sorcerers. Even those who refrained from superstitious practices, and were moral in their general deportment, had no true life of God in their souls. They might in some degree observe the form of godliness, but were destitute of its power.

One principal impediment to the progress of the mission was the practice of the Esquimaux, especially those at HOPEDALE, to go to the south, to purchase fire-arms and other articles from the Europeans. Here they associated with the heathen and soon relapsed into their former impious practices. However, as a scarcity began to prevail in that quarter, in consequence of which many perished of hunger, a stop was at length put to these roving.

Such was the state of the mission at the beginning of 1804; but before the close of that year a new period commenced. A fire from the Lord was kindled among the Esquimaux, accompanied with the clearest evidence of being the effect of the operations of the divine Spirit on their hearts. It commenced at HOPEDALE, the very place which, as before mentioned, presented the most discouraging prospect.

When the Esquimaux of that place returned from their summer excursions, our missionaries were delighted to find, that they not only had been preserved from sinful practices, but had greatly increased in the knowledge of divine truth. They had obtained an humbling insight into the corruption and deceitfulness of their hearts, and the wretched state of a person void of faith in Christ. This constrained them to cry for mercy and gladly to accept salvation on the terms of the gospel: and some afforded encouraging hopes, that they had found forgiveness of sins in the blood of Christ, by which their souls were filled with peace in believing. Out of the abundance of the heart their mouths spake of the love and power of Jesus. Their artless, but energetic, declarations impressed the rest of the inhabitants. They began to feel the necessity of true conversion; and in a short time all the adults appeared earnestly to seek peace with God. Even several of the children were awakened. Our missionaries were daily visited by people, who either inquired, "what they must do to be saved," or testified of the grace of God manifested to their souls.

The work of conversion thus begun at HOPEDALE, soon spread to NAIN; and was promoted by a rather singular occurrence. Two young men, Siksagak and Kapik, whose parents were members of this congregation, went to HOPEDALE, where the mother-in-law of the former resided. His intention was to convey his wife back to his mother, and marry another, who promised to second him in every heathenish abomination, and to forsake the christian Esquimaux altogether. This man on entering his own mother's house at HOPEDALE, found the family engaged in their evening devotion. They did not suffer themselves to be disturbed by his arrival; he sat down, quite astonished at what he saw and heard, being ignorant of what they were doing. The whole company earnestly entreated him, not to part from his wife, but pray for true conversion of heart. To these entreaties the missionaries added their exhortations; but all to no purpose; he persisted in his determination. His relations, finding that advice and persuasions had no effect, resorted to prayer. The following day they all assembled in his mother's house, and, in his presence,

joined in fervent supplications for his conversion. His mother, among the rest, uttered this petition; "O Lord Jesus! behold this my child; I now give him up to Thee; O, accept him, and suffer him not to be lost for ever!" A scene, so unprecedented and unexpected, had an instantaneous effect on the young man; he evidenced a real concern for his salvation, and his whole heart appeared changed: he desisted from his wicked purpose, took back his wife, and became an humble inquirer after divine truth; to whom the Lord afterwards showed great mercy. His companion, Kapik, also was powerfully awakened, by the instrumentality of his relations.

On their return to NAIN, these two men with energy and boldness preached Jesus to their countrymen. Some of their friends heard them with astonishment, others mocked and hated them; but the impression made on the inhabitants of the settlement was pleasing and permanent. "We saw several of our people," say the missionaries, "by degrees yielding to conviction, and beginning to doubt, whether their christianity were of the right kind, and whether they had not been deceiving themselves and others. They came voluntarily and confessed their sins, some with many tears, and in a manner of which we had had no instances before. The more seriously they reflected on their former life, the more deeply were they convinced of the treachery of their hearts; they wept on account of the deceit they had so often practised, and confessed to us things, of which we could have formed no conception. Though we could not but feel pain on account of their former hypocrisy, our grief was counterbalanced by the joy we felt at the amazing power of our Saviour's grace, by which their hearts were thus broken and softened. Our faith, which in some cases, was indeed very weak, revived, and we saw clearly that with God nothing is impossible."

The news of these pleasing events at HOPEDALE and NAIN soon spread to OKKAK, accompanied with similar effects. The work of conviction and conversion here was greatly promoted by visits of christian Esquimaux from NAIN. These visitors showed such an ardent desire to

describe to their countrymen the love and mercy of God, which they had so savingly experienced themselves, that they went from tent to tent, testifying of the love of Jesus to sinners in so impressive and affecting a manner, that their hearers could resist no longer, but came to the missionaries and confessed the dangerous state of their souls, earnestly inquiring what they must do to be saved. Even the heathen visitors from the north, who passed through the settlement, were struck. They frequently called on the missionaries, and of their own accord came to the chapel and listened to the gospel with silence and much apparent devotion. They expressed their regret that they lived at such a great distance, and could not conveniently remove from their native country, but said, if the missionaries could come to them, they would gladly receive instruction. Many of the heathen also, living in the neighbourhood of our brethren, were so astonished at the occurrences among their believing countrymen, that they resolved to move to one or other of the settlements.

The progress of the mission in the sequel supplies sufficient proof, that the effect of the gospel just related, was not a wild fire, or the mere consequence of a momentary impression, but a divine work, wrought in the hearts of the natives by the Spirit of God himself. The missionaries frequently mention the attention and diligence shown in the schools, both by adults and children, and the delight and fervour, with which they engage in their family devotions and in conversations with each other respecting the influence of the gospel on their own souls. Their behaviour at public worship likewise very strikingly differed from that of former years, with regard to the eagerness with which they now attended the house of God, and their deportment during the performance of divine service. On one occasion the missionaries remark, "We no longer see bold, undaunted heathen sitting before us, with defiance or ridicule in their looks; but people expecting a blessing, desirous to experience the power of the word of life, shedding tears of repentance, and their whole appearance evincing devotion and earnest inquiry."

Whenever any heathen Esquimax obtained permission to live on the land belonging to our brethren, their chris-

tian countrymen manifested the purest joy. The following occurrence, related in the report from HOPEDALE of 1805, will serve to confirm this assertion. "As soon as it was known, that some heathen had obtained leave to stay, there arose among our Esquimaux such a spirit of joy and gladness, that it was truly affecting to witness it. Since their arrival here, our people had not failed to speak of the mercy the Lord had shewn in their own conversion, and to preach Jesus to them as the only Saviour, who alone could make them happy both here and hereafter; and now, on perceiving that they were to be inhabitants of the place, they hardly knew how to contain themselves for joy. Young and old ran to help them with their baggage, and to settle their little affairs. It happened also, that in the morning early, a party of heathen Esquimaux, who had declared that they would not live with the believers, on departing, had left a man with his wife and child behind, who refused to follow the heathen any longer, and begged to be permitted to live here. He had pitched his tent at some distance, but our people, filled with love and ardour to serve all those who wished to be converted, went immediately, took it down, and set it up in the midst of their own dwellings. The new comers were quite humbled and amazed by such proofs of love and attention on the part of their christian countrymen, and declared, that for the first time in their lives they had found people, who loved them with disinterested sincerity *."

A proof, no less striking, of the transforming influence of the gospel appeared in the readiness of the believing Esquimaux to abandon those superstitious habits and practices, to which they are apt to cling to the very last. A woman, who had been called Magdalene at her baptism, resisted many temptations, put in her way by her husband. Having formerly been very ailing, the heathen used to give her a variety of charms and amulets which she wore about her clothes, whenever she went to sea. In the summer of 1806, being ready to set out on a voyage with her husband, she threw them into the water, saying to the whole company: "Now we will see, whe-

* *Per. Acct.* Vol. iv. p. 115.

ther there is a Jesus, who can save and preserve us in health without this trumpery." She enjoyed remarkably good health during the whole voyage; which greatly confirmed her previous convictions of the sinfulness of her past life, and her resolution to devote herself entirely to the Lord. Nor was this a solitary instance; the cases were now becoming less frequent every year, in which our missionaries found themselves compelled to exclude any of the converts from church-fellowship, in consequence of having been seduced to heathen superstitions during their summer residence at a distance from the settlements; a circumstance which in the early period of the mission caused them so much sorrow and perplexity.

In 1811 the settlements at HOPEDALE suffered considerable diminution. A very unusual disorder broke out among the natives, of which our missionaries give the following account: "Our Esquimaux had been for a long time preserved from any particular illnesses, except being subject to a kind of eruption and boils, which however, though painful and unpleasant, were rather beneficial to their general health. But on the 24th of July, as a boat filled with our people was leaving Tikkerarsuk, one of their provision-places, to return to HOPEDALE, several of them, one after the other, were seized with a nervous and paralytic disorder of a most dangerous and deadly nature, in-somuch that, during the next eight days, thirteen of them departed this life, of whom seven were communicants. Three of them were fishing in perfect health in the morning, and in the evening lay as corpses in the boat. Above thirty were taken ill, and some brought nigh unto death, but now, thank God, the greater number have recovered, though a few are still very weak. As late as the 19th of September, we buried an old communicant, called Luke. Terror and dismay seized the people, but we confidently believe, that those who departed this life are now in the presence of *Him*, whom they had known here as their Saviour, and to whose holy will they expressed full resignation at the approach of death.

"By this afflicting dispensation we have now got a considerable number of widows and orphans, depending en-

tirely upon charity, and we cannot withhold from them occasional assistance. We often commend them in prayer to the Father of the fatherless, who will in mercy regard their wants *."

Our missionaries had not been long settled in Labrador, before they discovered that the coast was very thinly inhabited. They consequently conceived that the aim of the mission would be better attained, if access could be had to the main body of the nation, from which the roving Esquimaux on the coast appear to be mere stragglers. In this opinion they were confirmed by those heathen who annually visited the settlements, and who reported that the body of the Esquimaux nation lived near, and beyond Cape Chudleigh. These visitors conceived much friendship for the missionaries, never failed to request, that some of them would come to their country, and even urged the formation of a new settlement, considerably to the north of ОККАК.

In order to determine the practicability of thus extending the labours of our brethren in Labrador, the directors of the missions, after mature deliberation, recommended to them to undertake a voyage for the purpose of exploring the northern coast, which had hitherto remained unknown to European navigators.

The missionaries Kohlmeister and Kmoch cheerfully engaged in this difficult and perilous enterprise, for which they were well qualified. The latter, to other essential qualifications, joined great cheerfulness and intrepidity. The former, having resided seventeen years in Labrador, was complete master of the language, and deservedly beloved both by the christian and heathen Esquimaux; and his kind and affable manner was eminently calculated to conciliate the affections of unknown pagans, while his invincible zeal to promote their temporal and spiritual welfare, sustained his mind in every difficulty and danger. He had besides acquired some knowledge of mineralogy, botany, the use of the quadrant and other sciences, which might be of advantage on such an expedition.

* Per. Acct. Vol. v. p. 125.

They engaged the christian Esquimaux, Jonathan, of **HOPEDALE**, who possessed a two-masted shallop, to conduct them on this voyage, for a liberal recompense. He was a man of superior understanding and skill, and of uncommon presence of mind in difficulties and dangers; and at **HOPEDALE** considered as the principal person, or chief, of his nation. On his part it was no small sacrifice to accompany the missionaries, for though an Esquimaux roves a good deal during summer in quest of food, yet in winter he always, if possible, settles in his native place, where he is esteemed and beloved. But Jonathan was willing to relinquish all these comforts, reside among strangers where he would have no pre-eminence, and expose himself to unknown hardships and dangers, uncertain whether he should ever return, sustained only by the hope that the projected voyage, might pave the way for the introduction of the gospel into that quarter. When any of his countrymen represented to him the danger of the expedition, he used to say, "Well, we will try, and shall know better when we get there:" and once he said, "When I hear people talk about the danger of being killed, I think: Jesus went to death out of love to us, what great matter would it be, if we were to be put to death in *his* service, should that be his good pleasure concerning us." Nor did he ever, during the whole voyage, forsake that generous principle, but his cheerful, firm and faithful conduct proved, under all circumstances, most honourable to the character of a convert to christianity.

Besides the missionaries and the captain, our travellers were joined by the family of the latter and three other Esquimaux families from **HOPEDALE**, and a fifth from **OKKAK**, who attended the shallop in a skin-boat. The whole company, therefore, consisted of nineteen persons, among whom were several young children. They all met at **OKKAK**, and waited there till the bay was cleared of ice.

Having freighted the vessel with the necessary things for the voyage, and prepared her for the accommodation of the travellers, they met the congregation of **OKKAK** in the chapel, on the evening of the 23rd of June 1811, and were commended to the grace and protection of God.

At two o'clock the following afternoon they weighed anchor, and proceeded for several days without any remarkable occurrence. At night they generally approached the shore and cast anchor, as there was still much drift-ice, which it required constant vigilance to avoid. They frequently met with companies of Esquimaux from OKKAK and other places, who had their summer-station along the coast. With these the missionaries kept meetings for worship, whenever circumstances permitted, especially on sundays.

Proceeding in a northerly direction, our travellers found their passage completely occupied with floating ice, driving towards them and forcing them to return. This brought them into great distress, so that the captain himself repeatedly exclaimed in a plaintive tone: "Alas, alas, we shall soon be without boat!" With the utmost difficulty they sailed along the shore, some being obliged to land and haul the boat with ropes round the points, and others with hooks and spars to keep her off the rocks. Two or three times she stuck fast on sunken rocks, but by God's mercy was got off again without being damaged. At length they got into *Nullatartok* bay, in the 59th degree of North latitude, surrounded by high mountains, and so shallow at the upper end, that no large ice-fields can float in it. Here they pitched their tents and were detained twelve days; during which time they explored the country as far as they were able. They found the mountains covered with moss, alder, birch and various shrubs and plants, and the vallies green and full of flowers. They discovered three rivers abounding in salmon; and the rocks were slaty, easily splitting into plates of from four to eight feet square.

The sea being at length cleared of ice, they left this station on July the 15th, and steered towards *Nachvak* bay, the magnificent mountains of which afforded them a most enchanting prospect, especially at sun-rise. A party of heatlen Esquimaux, about fifty in number, had fixed their summer residence on this bay. As soon as our travellers approached, loud shouts of joy resounded from all quarters and muskets were fired in every direction. They

had scarce patience to wait for their landing, and were all eager to assist them in pitching their tents. Their behaviour was modest and rather bashful, and our travellers had no reason to complain either of beggars or importunate intruders; nor were any thefts committed. They rested here two days, and did not neglect to acquaint the heathen with the design of their voyage, and to preach the gospel to them. They were evidently much impressed, and one of their chief men said: "I am determined to be converted to Jesus." The christian Esquimaux, in the travelling company, likewise were very zealous in exhorting their countrymen to believe in Jesus, and on every occasion exhibited the character of true believers.

On the 25th of July they arrived at *Oppernavik*, lying between the 60th and 61st degree of north latitude, not far from Cape *Chudleigh*. Here they found *Uttakiyok*, with his two wives and youngest brother, waiting for them. He and his family are from the *Ungava* bay, the very place to which they were directing their course. He was one of the two Esquimaux, from whom our missionaries received the first distinct information respecting the *Ungava* country and its inhabitants. Having learned, that it was the intention of our brethren to make a voyage to that country in the present year, he had waited for their arrival in *Oppernavik* during the whole spring, and had erected signals on all the heights surrounding his tent, that they might not miss him. This man was of very essential service to them, as without such a steady and trusty guide, they must have been wandering in the most painful and perilous uncertainty in the desert regions to the west of Cape *Chudleigh*, where, on a coast of one hundred miles in length, they did not meet with a single inhabitant. He executed the office, he had thus voluntarily undertaken, with a degree of faithfulness and disinterested kindness, which excited their admiration and gratitude.

After enduring much fear and difficulty on the 1st of August, from large shoals of ice surrounding them on all sides, they safely passed the whirlpools and eddies in the

straits, and doubled cape *Chudleigh* without meeting with any disaster, except that the skin-boat, which they had in tow, with an Esquimaux in her, was seized by the vortex and received a rapid twist; but as the towing-rope did not break, she was immediately rescued from danger by the swiftness of their course.

Having thus entered the ocean on the western side of Cape *Chudleigh*, they found themselves as it were, transported into a new world. The coast, which had hitherto taken a northerly direction, now turned to the south-south-west. They soon got sight of the *UNGAVA* country, and sailed briskly amidst the numerous islands, lying along the coast, which is low with gently sloping hills. They discovered three skin-boats, full of people, standing towards them from the shore. They were inhabitants of *Ungava*, and welcomed them with shouts of joy, and with firing their pieces. The missionaries visited them in their tents, informing them of the purpose for which they had undertaken this voyage. As many of them had never before seen an European, they did not know how to satisfy their curiosity with gazing at them, and even felt them all over.

August the 7th, they arrived at the mouth of the river of *Kangerthluatuksoak*, to which they afterwards gave the name of *GEORGE'S-RIVER*. To this spot they had from the first directed their view. It lies about 140 miles S.S.W. of Cape *Chudleigh*, in lat. 58°, 57' North. Here they pitched their tents and stayed several days for the purpose of exploring the country. At a short distance from their landing place they found a spot, which appeared well adapted for a missionary station. It was a green slope, or terrace, overgrown with shrubs, a woody valley extended on one side. Their conductor, *Uttakiyok*, who had spent more than one winter in the *Ungava* country, assured them that there was here an ample supply of provisions, both in summer and winter, for the Esquimaux, and expressed his conviction that they would collect from all parts and settle here, if a missionary establishment were formed. As to Europeans the missionaries entertained no doubt, that they might find the means of sub-

sistence in this place, as it is accessible for ships, and has wood and water in plenty. These considerations induced them to erect high marks of stones, on the two opposite hills at the entrance of the bay ; and on a declivity of a hill to the right, they fixed a board, in which were carved the initials of the present king of Great Britain, those of the two missionaries, and of the Society to which they belonged, together with the day and year of their arrival.

Our travellers, after leaving this place, had proceeded but a short way, when they were obliged to cast anchor in an exposed situation, where they were detained several days by contrary winds ; and when the wind became more favourable, it blew so hard a gale, that they were in imminent danger of suffering shipwreck. Their situation now became critical and rather alarming. The season was far advanced, and the Esquimaux expressed their fears, that if they proceeded much farther, they might not find it practicable to return to OKKAK before winter, which must be attended with most distressing consequences.

These circumstances threw the missionaries into a very perplexing dilemma. They were only seventy or eighty miles distant from the western extremity of the *Ungava* country, which they had fixed upon as the final object of their voyage, and yet difficulties now presented themselves, which seemed to render it nearly impossible to reach this point. In this perplexity they retired to their own tent, and having maturely weighed all circumstances, entreated the Lord's direction in fervent prayer. They rose from their knees with a firm conviction in their minds, that they ought to proceed in *His* name, relying on his help. And when they mentioned their determination to the Esquimaux, they found them cheerfully disposed to prosecute the voyage.

Two days after the wind veered to the north-east, and became favourable, so that after a sail of six days, they arrived at the mouth of the river *Kocksoak* (Sand-river,) the very place they wished to reach. Here they remained from August the 25th to the 1st of September, exploring the circumjacent country, and entering into conversation

with the inhabitants respecting the object of this expedition. The difference between these Esquimaux and their countrymen living in the vicinity of our settlements was very striking. The former are very poor and miserably equipped, whereas the latter, by their intercourse with our brethren and other Europeans, have acquired many conveniences, and even comparative affluence. As many of these people had never before seen a European, they appeared rather shy, but after receiving a few trifling presents, they became more free and communicative, surveying the missionaries from head to foot as if they were a new species of animals. They listened with attention to their discourses, repeatedly expressing their wish, that they would come and settle in the country, that they might hear more of the gospel and be converted.

The estuary of the *Koksoak*, lies in 58°, 36' N. latitude, at the distance of six or seven hundred miles from OKKAK, and is about as broad as the Thames at Gravesend. They gave it the name of *South-river*. Having proceeded further up this river, in the skin-boat, they arrived at a bay, surrounded on all sides by gently rising ground, well wooded with trees of moderate size; which they called *Unity's bay*. They considered this a very convenient place for a missionary settlement. A fine slope extends for about half an English mile, bounded on each extremity by a hill, on which they erected high signals. The land is level and dry, well watered by several rivulets issuing from the wood, in which they found various European plants and flowers, and besides grass and trees in abundance, different kinds of shrubs, such as junipers, currants, &c.

Our travellers now deemed it unnecessary to prosecute their voyage any further, as from all the intelligence they could gain from the natives, they were satisfied, that besides the places already mentioned, no other could be found suitable for a missionary establishment. Further west no wood grows along the coast, and there is no place where a ship could with safety approach the land, except the two rivers named before; and at this season of the year they would probably meet with no inhabitants, as they

were all gone into the interior to hunt reindeer. The object of their expedition having been thus far attained, they prepared for their return. They presented their faithful pilot, Uttakiyok, with their skin-boat, with which he was highly gratified. September the 2nd they commenced their voyage home, and without meeting with any remarkable occurrence, arrived in safety at OKKAK on the 4th of October, after an absence of fourteen weeks, having performed a voyage of from twelve to thirteen hundred miles*.

During the following years no very remarkable events occurred in the three settlements at HOPEDALE, NAIN and OKKAK. The mission proceeded with a slow but steady pace, and though the accession of new converts was not great, yet our brethren had the pleasure to find, that those who came to reside with them, remained, with but few exceptions, faithful to their promise on admission, to forsake their pagan customs, and improve all the means of grace for true conversion of heart. They were cheered in their benevolent exertions by observing clear evidences of a divine work in the children and young people, born and educated in the settlements. They were stimulated to increasing diligence at school by obtaining a new spelling and reading-book in the Esquimaux language. The progress of both young and old in scriptural knowledge was greatly promoted by the translation and printing of the Harmony of the four gospels, the Summary of christian doctrine for the use of the children, and the subsequent version of each of the gospels separately †; and the devotion of the congregation was much enlivened by the publication of a Hymn Book in their native tongue.

The early commencement and extraordinary severity of

* See, an interesting and detailed account of this expedition in a little work published by the Rev. C. I. Latrobe, and entitled *Journal of a voyage from Okkak in Labrador to Ungava bay, &c. &c.*

† The four gospels were generously published at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The same excellent society having offered to print any other integral parts of the Bible, in the Esquimaux language, our missionaries have sent the Acts of the Apostles to London for this purpose, and are diligently occupied in translating and preparing for the press the remaining books of the New Testament.

the winter of 1815, prevented the Esquimaux from procuring a sufficient stock of provisions; they were, however, preserved from absolute famine, as the missionaries rendered them all the assistance which their own scanty stores allowed. This distress had in some measure an injurious influence on their spiritual course, as they were obliged to seek their food at a distance from the settlements; and some were so reduced by want and distress, that they seemed in a manner stupified, and scarce able to attend to the concerns of their souls with becoming seriousness. Many of them, however, manifested filial confidence in their heavenly Father, and due resignation to *his* will. Notwithstanding these trying circumstances, the missionaries remark: "It is clearly to be seen, that they have a feeling of the necessity of knowing and relying on their Saviour and Redeemer, whom they are bound to love and serve; and often have we seen them shed tears on hearing the gospel. The walk of our communicants has afforded us pleasure and edification, by which we have been greatly encouraged. In short, we rejoice in perceiving, that the work of God and his Spirit has been carried on in the hearts of our people, with manifest blessing, though amidst much weakness and imperfection on our part, and not distinguished by any extraordinary and striking appearances from without."

A trial, severer than any which had hitherto exercised the faith and patience of our brethren, on this coast, was experienced by them this year in consequence of the late arrival of the ship at NAIN and OKKAK and the complete failure of all the captain's attempts to reach the settlement at HOPEDALE. The following is the official account of this disastrous event: "October 28th 1816. The *Jemima* arrived in the river from Labrador, after one of the most dangerous and fatiguing passages ever known. She arrived at the drift-ice on the Labrador coast, on the 16th of July. Captain Fraser found it extending two hundred miles from the land, and after attempting to get in, first at HOPEDALE, then at NAIN, and lastly at OKKAK, he was at length completely surrounded by ice, and in the most imminent danger during six days and nights, expecting every moment that the ship would be crushed to

pieces; till after very great exertions, he got towards the outer part of the ice. Nevertheless, he was beset by it for forty-nine days, and did not reach OKKAK till August 29th, to the astonishment of all our brethren as well as the Esquimaux. The very next day the whole coast, as far as the eye could reach, was entirely choaked up by ice, and after lying at OKKAK nearly three weeks, he was twice forced back by it on his passage to NAIN, which place he did not reach till Sept. 22d. After staying the usual time, Captain Fraser proceeded, Oct. 3d to HOPEDALE, though with fine weather, yet, on account of the lateness of the season and a great deal of drift ice, with but little prospect of reaching that settlement. This circumstance he mentioned to the brethren at NAIN. However, brother Knoch and his wife, and the two single brethren Körner and Christensen, who were going to HOPEDALE, went on board, and they set sail: but the same evening it came on to blow exceedingly hard, with an immense fall of snow, and very foggy weather, so that they could not see the length of the ship, and being within half a mile of a dangerous reef of rocks, the captain was obliged to carry a press of sail to clear them, which he did but just accomplish; for after that the gale increased to such a degree, the wind being right on shore, that he could not carry sail any longer, and was obliged to lay the ship to, when the sea often broke over her, and he was at last necessitated, seeing every attempt to reach HOPEDALE in vain, to bear away for England on Oct. 5th. He again experienced a gale, equal to a hurricane, on the 8th 9th and 10th of Oct. which, during the night between the 9th and 10th was so violent, that the captain expected the ship would have foundered. She was at one time struck by a sea, which twisted her in such a manner, that the very seams on her larboard side opened, and the water gushed into the cabin, and into the mate's birth, as if it came from a pump, and every body at first thought her side was stove in; however, the Lord was pleased to protect every one from harm, and considering all things, the ship has not suffered materially, neither was any thing lost *."

* *Per. Acct.* Vol. vi. p. 270.—It deserves to be gratefully acknowledged, that this is the first calamity of this kind, experienced by our brethren since their arrival in Labrador. The ship, freighted for the purposes mentioned

This disastrous event occasioned many fears and perplexities, both to the missionaries in Labrador, and their brethren and friends at home. It caused a very considerable loss to the funds of the society. It unexpectedly removed four missionaries from the scene of their labours. And it must have awakened the most painful feelings in our brethren and sisters at HOPEDALE, as they would naturally conclude, that the ship had been lost, for, a considerable time must elapse, before they could hear of her arrival at the other two settlements; and even then their anxiety would be but partially relieved, for they would be inclined to fear, that the vessel had foundered in her attempts to reach their harbour.

The four missionaries who had thus unexpectedly been brought to Europe, after spending the winter in England,

in page 73, has made forty-seven voyages to and from this coast, without suffering any serious disaster. Though some fears for her safety have been excited once or twice before, the issue was such, as to awaken rather grateful feelings than repining sensations. In 1778 the vessel was captured by a French privateer; but as it happened on her return, it was attended with no detriment to the missionaries; and being soon after recaptured by the English, she was restored to the owners. The captain, mate and two sailors, who had been taken to Dunkirk, were soon liberated, and all the letters and papers from Labrador transmitted unopened to our brethren in London. On her return in 1803 she escaped a similar danger. On the 18th of November she was chased by a French frigate, brought to and forced to keep her company. But the sea running very high, and continuing in that state for twenty-four hours, it was impossible for the frigate to send out a boat to board her. The second night proving extremely dark and boisterous, the captain, setting as much sail as the ship would carry, ventured to attempt his escape, and in the morning saw no more of the frigate. Two days after, however, he had the mortification to meet her again, and to be brought to a second time. Again the Lord interposed. The wind was so violent, that the frigate could not put out a boat, and during the night, the captain, crowding all the sails, fortunately escaped and saw no more of the enemy. On her voyage from NAIN to OKKAK in 1811, the mercy of God in her preservation was thankfully acknowledged by all on board. The cold was so intense though only the latter end of September, that the running rigging, being covered with ice, would not work through the blocks, and had it been needful, the sails once set, could not have been handed. Even the sails were stiffened by the frost, so as to be quite unmanageable. But it pleased God to grant such favourable wind and weather, that nothing was required but to steer the vessel. On reaching OKKAK, on the 29th of September, the sailors were obliged to go aloft and knock off the ice before they could furl the sails. On her return to England she encountered storms little short of hurricanes; and though she sustained considerable damage, the captain did not deem it necessary to put in for repairs any where, and reached London in safety on the 2d. of December.

returned to Labrador in 1817. Their voyage was perilous, as the passage was frequently obstructed by immense fields of ice during heavy gales and thick fogs. But, though the vessel was greatly damaged, she safely reached the harbour of HOPEDALE; and after receiving the needful repairs, proceeded to NAIN and OKKAK.

From the intelligence, brought by the ship on her return to England, the author is able to lay before his readers the following concise account of occurrences in this mission down to the autumn of 1817.

The non-arrival of the ship at HOPEDALE, in the preceding year had, as might be anticipated, caused much anxiety to the missionaries in that place. They had, however, suffered no want of provisions, as they were sufficiently supplied from the stores at NAIN.

The most distressing consequence of the event, just alluded to, was the obstacle, thereby thrown in the way of our brethren in OKKAK, to proceed during the summer of 1817 to the Ungava country, and spend the following winter there. But the unexpected removal of the missionaries to Europe, (as mentioned before,) so reduced the number of those remaining in the country, that they were obliged, though very reluctantly, to relinquish that intention. This was the more to be regretted, as they had received previous information, that the inhabitants of the *Ungava* country were anxiously waiting for their arrival. But time and seasons are in the hands of the Lord; "He does all things well," and the duty of his servants is, "under every trial to be resigned to *his* will *.

The peaceful and hopeful course of the christian Esquimaux had been unhappily disturbed by some pagan visitors from the south, who had inveigled eighteen of the inhabitants of HOPEDALE, and fifty of OKKAK to leave the settlements, and remove with them to the residence of the Europeans, in the south. Discouraging as this was to our brethren, they were animated in the prosecution of

* *Per. Acct.* Vol. vi. p. 272.

their work, by observing, that the major part of their converts were progressively attaining more of the christian character, both in knowledge and practice.

A few general observations will very properly close this chapter. The mission in Labrador, in many respects, bears a strong resemblance to that in Greenland. Most of the converts pass the winter in the settlements, dwelling in winter houses; but the greater part of summer they spend in their provision-places on the islands, or along the coast, catching seals, or in the interior hunting reindeer; and when during this season they come, for a week or two, to the settlements, they pitch their tents. During winter the meetings for religious worship, not only on sundays, but every day in the week, and likewise the schools, both for adults and children, are held in regular order.

Our brethren have laid out gardens, which, however, do not produce much except lettuce, spinnach and a few early turnips and cabbages. The country supplies them with some game, such as hares, wild geese, patridges, &c. and the bays furnish plenty of fish; in some years they have even caught above six thousand large salmon trouts at NAIN, which together with cod, are prepared for winter's use. But, after all, their main subsistence must depend on the provisions annually sent from Europe. It is no wonder, therefore, that the arrival of the ship is always considered as a most auspicious event, and never fails to awaken the liveliest joy and gratitude.

They have one convenience not possessed in Greenland. The country supplies not only wood for fuel, but also timber for most purposes of building. With a view to facilitate their necessary labours of this kind, they have erected a saw-mill in each of the settlements.

CHAP. III.

MISSION IN NORTH AMERICA.

WHEN the first Europeans came to North America, they found it inhabited by numerous nations, comprehended under the general name of INDIANS. The principal of these nations are the *Delawares* and *Iroquois**, divided into several tribes. Besides these, there are numerous other tribes, but of inferior note.

These nations occupy a territory extending from the 37th to the 48th degree of north latitude, and from the 77th to the 92nd degree of west longitude from London; being in length about eight hundred, and in breadth eleven hundred miles. It is bounded by New York and Pennsylvania on the east, by the river Ohio on the south, by the river Mississippi on the west, and by Canada on the north. It includes the five large Canadian lakes, and is intersected by some of the noblest rivers in the world, besides a number of smaller streams. The climate, in general, is very cold in winter and extremely hot in summer; though in some parts of the country it is more variable. The soil is naturally rich, abounding in trees and shrubs of almost every kind, and very fit for agriculture; but the Indians bestow little labour on the cultivation of their lands, as they chiefly live by hunting and fishing, and never manure their grounds, but, whenever the strength of the soil is exhausted in one place, remove to another, and lay out new plantations.

The men are mostly slender, of a middle size, handsome and straight. They possess great dexterity and

* *Iroquois* is the name given to these nations by the French, and as it has been adopted by Loskiel in his history of the Mission in North America, it has been retained in the subsequent narrative. The appellation, generally used by English Authors, is the *Six nations*, as the following six tribes are united in a close league with each other, viz. *Mohawks*, *Oncida*, *Onondago*, *Cajuga*, *Senneka* and *Tuscarora*.

uncommon swiftness in walking and running. The women are of low stature, less handsome, and rather clumsy in their appearance. Both men and women are extremely fond of dress, and bestow much time and labour in decorating their persons. They paint their faces and heads in the most fantastical manner, and wear rings and other ornaments suspended from the ears and nose; but the most singular decoration consists in scarifications, representing serpents, birds and other creatures, which often cover the whole upper part of the body, and at a distance resemble a coat of mail. Their dress is light, consisting for the most part of a blanket, or a bear-skin, hung loosely over both shoulders, or only over the left, that the right arm may be free. Some wear caps, or hats, bought of the Europeans, others go bareheaded. On festive occasions they ornament their hair with plumes, silver-rings, corals, &c. Their stockings are made of blue and red cloth, very long but without feet; and their shoes of deer-skin, neatly sewed by the women. Round the waist they tie a girdle, made of leather, or of the inner-bark of trees. In this they carry a small axe and a long knife, besides a pouch, made of the whole skin of a young otter, beaver, or fox, which contains a pipe, tobacco, pocket-knife and tinder-box, and is considered the most essential part of an Indian's furniture. The dress which peculiarly distinguishes the women, is a petticoat, made of a piece of cloth of about two yards long, fastened tight about the hips, and hanging down a little below the knees.

Before their acquaintance with the Europeans, their dwellings were nothing more than huts, made of bark, rushes or long grass. The Iroquois and other nations at a distance from the White People*, live still in huts of this description; but the Delawares have learned the convenience of block-houses, which they either build themselves, or pay white workmen for doing it.

The frame of an Indian hut is made by driving poles into the ground and strengthening them with crossbeams; and is covered within and without with bark. The roof

* The European settlers and their descendants are called *White People*, or simply *Whites*, to distinguish them from the Indians.

runs up into a ridge, also covered with bark, and has an opening to emit the smoke. The light enters by small apertures, furnished with shutters. The door consists of a large piece of bark, without bolt or lock; a stick reared against the outside, indicates that its inhabitants are from home. These huts are neither convenient nor well furnished, being mostly low, without divisions and not floored. The fire-place is in the middle, round which are placed benches, rudely finished, serving also for tables and bedsteads. The same blanket, which clothes them in day, is their covering at night, and the bed is a deer or bear-skin, or a mat made of rushes; some line the inside of their huts with these mats, partly for ornament and partly to render them warmer. Their provisions and other necessaries they hang on poles, fixed across the top of the hut; and the Indian-corn is preserved in pits in the ground.

A number of these huts standing together, is called an Indian town, and, if surrounded by pallisades, a fortification. These towns are not large, and in building them, no regular plan is observed, every one following his own fancy.

The Indians are not remarkable for cleanliness. Their pots, dishes and spoons are seldom washed, but left for the dogs to lick. A difference, however, exists in this respect between the various tribes. Some of the dwellings of the Iroquois have a clean and neat appearance, and afford a comfortable night's lodging even to an European.

The men spend much of their time in warlike pursuits. When not thus engaged their chief employments consist in hunting, fishing and building canoes; every other kind of work being left to the women. In this respect, however, there is a great difference between a Delaware and an Iroquois family. A Delaware Indian hunts and fishes, provides meat for the household, keeps his wife and children in cloathing, builds and repairs the house, or hut, and makes fences round the plantation. The woman cooks the victuals, fetches fire-wood, and labours in the field and garden, though the husband will occasion-

ally assist in the latter. Thus among them the women live as well as the situation of an Indian will allow.

But this is not the case among the Iroquois. An Iroquois, in his savage state, is proud of his strength, courage and other manly virtues, and treats his wife with coolness, contempt, and not unfrequently, with abuse; considering every occupation, but that of a hunter or warrior, as beneath his dignity. His wife must not only do all the business in the house and in the field, but even make the fences, keep the house repaired and perform all kinds of drudgery. On a journey she must carry the baggage, and sometimes her husband's gun and the very game he has shot.

A tacit understanding subsists among the married people, that whatever the husband obtains by hunting belongs to the wife. On the other hand, whatever the wife reaps from the garden and fields belongs to the husband, from which she must provide him with the necessary food, both when at home and on a journey. Some men keep the skins of the deers and bears they have killed, and with them purchase clothes for their wives and children. The cows are the wife's property, but the horses belong to the husband, who generally makes his wife a present of one for her own use,

The children are always considered the property of their mother, who hath the sole management of their education while young. Both father and mother endeavour to gain the affection of their children, and never oppose their inclinations, but leave them to their own will, without ever resorting to compulsory measures. Yet many well-bred children are found among them, who pay great attention and respect to their parents, and are civil to strangers. By the instruction and example of their parents, the young people learn from very early years to suppress their passions, and acquire a command of temper truly astonishing.

The Delawares are renowned for their courage, peaceable disposition and powerful alliances, for nearly all the

nations in their neighbourhood are in league with them, and call them *Grandfather* *. The Iroquois are a martial people, trained for war from their infancy. There are few Indian nations, except those living at a great distance, against whom they have not carried on very cruel and long continued wars. Ever since the year 1600 they have had frequent wars with the French.

As their chief occupation in time of peace, consists in hunting, they lead a roving life, and often spend months at a distance from home. They are soon equipped for a journey, and do not encumber themselves with much luggage. If to their gun, tobacco-pouch and a tinder-box, they add a little flour of Indian corn, they think themselves sufficiently provided; for the forests every where supply them with game.

No difficulties deter them: they travel through the woods without the trace of a path, and yet never go astray; and swim across the most rapid current with great agility. If need requires they build a canoe of the bark of trees, which does not take them much time, and though very light will carry a considerable weight, but seldom is fit for use longer than a year. When night approaches, they take up their quarters in the woods; and if it rains, peel a few trees and quickly build a hut of bark. They are in no haste to proceed the next morning; but when they have once started they seldom stop till after sunset. If they travel in company they appoint one to be their leader, to whom they yield unreserved obedience.

Though the Indians cannot be called a civilized people, yet in point of moral character and mental powers, they probably rank higher than most other pagan nations. In the common intercourse of life they observe great decency, and treat both one another and strangers with

* The several tribes of Indians consider themselves as standing in certain relations to each other, as grandfathers, grandsons, fathers, sons, brothers, uncles and cousins. A public speaker among them, therefore, must be well acquainted with every thing relating both to the state of his own people, and that of the other nations, that he may be able to address each by the proper title.

kindness and civility. In affairs of consequence they seem to speak and act with seriousness and cool deliberation, avoiding all appearance of precipitancy; but on closer examination it is evident that their caution originates in suspicion, and their coolness is affected; for they are perfect masters of the art of dissimulation.

Their hospitality is well known. They count it a most sacred duty, and exercise it even towards strangers, who take refuge among them. To refuse relief to any one is considered a grievous offence, and not only renders the delinquent detested and abhorred by all, but liable to revenge from the offended person.

In their conduct towards their enemies they are cruel and implacable, and when enraged, bent upon nothing but murder and bloodshed. But they know how to conceal their passion, and will patiently wait for a convenient opportunity of gratifying it. In this case, however, their fury has no bounds. If they cannot gratify their resentment themselves, they call upon their friends and posterity to do it. The longest space of time cannot mitigate their wrath, nor the most distant place afford security to their enemy.

They consider the honour and welfare of the nation as of prime importance, and independence as the grand prerogative of Indians. This public spirit produces the noblest exertions in favour of their own people. They dread no danger, suffer any hardships, and endure the most exquisite tortures, and even death itself, with composure, in defence of their country.

Difference of rank is little known among them; being all equally noble and free. The only difference consists in age, wealth, dexterity, courage and office. They have no regular political constitution and are subject to no magistracy, law, or restraint. Each nation, however, considers itself as a united body, and has a kind of government of its own choosing. Chiefs are appointed in every nation, but they are in fact nothing more in point of rank, than the most respected among their equals. Each Chief

has his counsellors, who are either renowned warriors, or aged and respectable fathers of families. These constitute a council, which guards the interests and promotes the welfare of the tribe or nation to which they belong. The dignity of the Chiefs is purely elective, and they can hold their authority no longer than they are respected. Their power indeed is very limited; for though a Chief is authorised and even obliged, with the advice of his counsellors, to keep good order and decide in all quarrels and disputes; yet he never ventures to command, compel, or punish any one, for in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole tribe. He cannot even inflict punishment on murderers or other atrocious criminals, for this right belongs to the injured family; nor can he pardon a delinquent. He is indeed empowered to prevent all disorders proceeding from the use of spirituous liquors, and even prohibit their importation; but few Chiefs have sufficient inclination, or resolution, to do their duty in this respect, or to set an example of sobriety. Though the Chief is obliged to lodge and entertain all ambassadors from other tribes, yet he must live at his own charges; but as he has frequently a great number of guests, his friends supply him with game, and the women assist his wife in her plantations.

All affairs of importance are submitted to the whole Council, without whose consent no measure proposed, can be carried into effect. The *strings and belts of wampom* *

* *Wampom* is an Iroquois word, signifying a muscle. A number of these muscles strung together, is called a *string of wampom*, and several of these strings tied together, a *belt of wampom*. Every transaction of moment, either between the Indians themselves, or with the White People, is ratified and made valid by strings or belts of wampom. Upon the delivery of a string a *long* speech is made; but when a belt is given, a *few* words only are spoken. Whenever the speaker has pronounced some important sentence, he delivers a string of wampom, adding, "I give this string of wampom as a confirmation of what I have spoken." But the chief subject of his discourse he confirms with a belt. The answers returned must also be confirmed by strings and belts of wampom of the same size and number with those received. Neither the colour nor other qualities of the wampom are matters of indifference, but have an immediate reference to those things which they are designed to confirm. Brown or deep violet, (called black by the Indians) always means something of severe and doubtful import; but white is the colour of peace. Thus a warning against evil, or a serious reproof, is confirmed by a *black* string or belt of wampom. In case of war the belt is black, or marked with

and the great seal are in the custody of the Chief, and after his death they are carefully preserved by the council till a new Chief is elected. Among the Delawares, who are divided into three tribes, the right of election does not belong to the tribe over which he is to preside and of which he must be a member, but to the two other tribes. Being properly elected, he is invested with his office with due solemnity. If he is intelligent, and able to gain the affection of the captains and people, the former will support his authority and assist him to the utmost, even at the hazard of life. But his principal endeavour must be to secure the good will of his counsellors, for without their assistance he is a mere cypher.

The Iroquois have such exalted ideas of their greatness and liberty, that they will admit of no equal in rank, except the King of England, considering the English, in general, only as subjects. Their political constitution nearly resembles a republic, as the six nations of which they are composed, are independent of each other, or according to their phraseology, *have their own fire*, round which their Chiefs, Captains and Counsellors assemble to deliberate on the affairs of the community. They have, however, one large common fire burning at Onondago, to which the Great Council, consisting of all the Chiefs of the six nations' resorts, and where all public business is transacted. Most of the nations beyond the territory of the United States, are more or less connected with the Iroquois. Some are called *brothers*; others *cousins*, which implies a degree of subordination.

The favourite occupation of the Indians consists in war-like achievements. Hence they readily find a pretext for commencing hostilities, either against one another or against the white people. Formerly their wars were carried on with much greater fury, and lasted much longer than at present; some were even hereditary. To begin war is called, *to lift up the hatchet*.

The cruelty of the victors is without bounds. All the

red, called by them the *colour of blood*, having in the middle the figure of a hatchet in *white wampom*.

slain of the enemy are, if possible, *scalped*. This operation they perform by placing their foot on the neck of the victim, seizing the hair with the left hand, and twisting it very tightly together, in order to sever the skin from the head; then they cut it all round with a sharp knife and tear it off. This operation is often performed in a minute, and when the person is alive sometimes proves fatal. The *scalps* are painted red, placed on a red pole, and carefully preserved as trophies of their prowess and victory. They behave with great tenderness to the wounded. Prisoners also are well treated while in the camp; but when the victorious army reaches its own towns, the captives are exposed not only to insults but to acts of wanton barbarity.

They never make peace till compelled by necessity. But as soon as terms of peace are proposed, the Captains lay down their office, and deliver the government of the state into the hands of the Chiefs. A Captain has no more right to conclude peace, than a Chief hath to begin war. If the Chief inclines to peace, he again exercises his power, takes the hatchet from the Captain, and desires him to *sit down*, that is, to make a truce. The Captain is then obliged to cease from all hostilities; and is generally chosen to be a deputy at the ensuing treaty.

An embassy of peace is never committed to one man only. Two or more and sometimes even fifteen or twenty ambassadors are chosen, according to the strength of the nation with whom the treaty is to be made. One of them is appointed head of the embassy, who settles the preliminaries, makes speeches and delivers the strings and belts of wampom. Such an ambassador must not only be an intelligent man, and universally respected, but must possess great strength of body, to endure the fatigue connected with his employ.

Such an embassy carries the *pipe of peace* before them, answering to our flag of truce; and the respect shown to it is such, that an insult offered to the bearer is accounted a most heinous crime, which the Great Spirit will surely revenge. The commission is opened by the head-chief,

or president, who smokes for a short time out of the pipe of peace, having first, with great solemnity, turned it towards the heavens and earth. This ceremony is so essential that no European governor, or ambassador can make peace with the Indians without it. The pipe then is handed round among all the ambassadors and members of the council. Upon this the principal ambassador opens his commission in a pompous speech, displaying all the powers of Indian oratory; confirming every subject with giving a string or belt of wampom.

If these strings and belts are handed about in the assembly and attentively considered, it is a proof that the message is well received. The answer is then given with the same solemnity; and the ambassadors withdraw. The message having been maturely considered and every thing necessary for its confirmation arranged, they are called in again, and the speaker, appointed by the council, holding a string of wampom in his hand, informs them that the terms are accepted. The treaty being thus concluded to the satisfaction of both parties, a hatchet, painted red, or a war-club, is buried in the ground, in token of a cessation of all hostilities. To denote the stability of peace thus concluded, they pronounce the following sentence: "Upon this hatchet we will plant a tree, which shall grow up and reach unto heaven." All strings and belts, exchanged on the occasion, are carefully preserved by both parties, and serve as memorials of the transaction even at a distant period.

Similar ceremonies are observed when two or more tribes enter into any compact, or engagement, with each other. But, if the message is not received, the president of the council does not accept the tokens of confirmation, but pushes them from him with his stick, and no one is allowed to touch them, except the person by whom they were brought.

In consequence of the long residence of Europeans among them, the religious notions of the Indians of the present day, probably, differ in many respects, from those of former times. The prevailing opinion now is, that

there is one God, or as they call him, one great and good Spirit, who has created all things, and whom they represent as almighty, able to do as much good as he pleases, and mercifully disposed towards men, because he richly supplies their temporal wants. They are also fully convinced that God requires them to do good and abstain from evil. Besides the Supreme Being, they believe in good and evil spirits, considering them as subordinate deities. They seem to have had no idea of the Devil till the Europeans came into the country; but now they look upon him as a very powerful spirit, but unable to do good, and therefore call him the *evil one*. Thus they now believe in two Beings, the one supremely good, and the other altogether evil.

About the middle of the last century a great change took place in their religious opinions. Some teachers of their own nation pretended to have received special revelations from above, to have travelled into heaven and conversed with God. Though they differed considerably in their respective opinions, and advanced some very ridiculous and absurd notions, yet their discourses served to impress some great truths on the minds of the people. They asserted the distinction between the body and the soul of man, and taught the immortality of the latter, and its abode in the next world, either in a place of happiness or misery, according to the conduct of the individual in the present life. To heathen their system of morals seemed severe, as they enjoined total abstinence from scandalous vices, and the necessity of being thoroughly cleansed from sin, before they could be admitted among the good spirits.

Sacrifices, made with a view to pacify the Divine Being and other subordinate deities, are among the religious ceremonies of the Indians. They are of very ancient date and held most sacred; but they have neither regular priests nor temples. At public and solemn sacrifices the oldest men perform the sacerdotal office; and in their private expiations each man, bringing a sacrifice, officiates as priest. Instead of a temple, a large dwelling house is fitted up for the purpose. Most of their sacrificial festivities terminate with a drinking-bout.

It cannot be said that rank polytheism, or gross idolatry, prevails among them. They have, however, a kind of idol which they call *Manito*, which is a man's head carved in wood. *Manitoes*, are likewise a kind of tutelar spirits, of which every Indian has one or more. Like other Pagans they easily become the dupes of various sorts of deceivers, who practising upon the credulity of the people, only seek their own gain.

From the researches of our missionaries it appears that the Delaware and Iroquois are the two principal languages, spoken by the natives of North America, the Esquimaux excepted; and that the rest are only dialects of these. In things relating to common life, the language of the Indians is remarkably copious; but extremely defective in terms to express scientific, or religious subjects. They take no pains, as their knowledge enlarges, to enrich their language, but prefer expressing themselves in a figurative and descriptive manner. In general they show an aversion to learning; even the acquisition of reading, writing and arithmetic requires too much application for them. Yet they are not defective in natural talents; some, who have long resided among the white people, have learned to work in iron, and can make axes and other tools, without having been regularly taught.

These introductory remarks may to some appear to have been extended to rather too great a length; but as the manners of the Indians, in many respects, differ widely from those of other pagan nations, among whom the missionaries of the brethren are labouring in the gospel, it seemed necessary to go a little more into detail on this subject, in order to render the subsequent history of the mission more intelligible. And I must still trespass a little longer on the time and patience of the reader, while briefly adverting to the peculiar situation of our brethren during the contest between Great Britain and her American colonies. Wishing to maintain perfect neutrality they were, in turns, exposed to the displeasure of all the belligerent powers, whether English or French, Americans or Indians: and this circumstance was the principal, if not the sole, cause of the many migrations and cruel sufferings, to which they were subjected for a series of years.

THE Trustees of Georgia having offered Count Zinzendorf a tract of land to be colonized by the brethren; this offer was gladly accepted, in the hope that a way might thus be opened for preaching the gospel to the Creeks, Chickasaw and Cherokee Indians.

A number of brethren being found willing to engage in this undertaking, they left Herrnhut in November 1734, conducted by John Töltschig and Anthony Seiffart, and being joined in London by Mr. Spangenberg *, arrived in America the following spring. The trustees of Georgia accommodated them with houses in the town of Savannah, till they had cleared and cultivated a piece of ground and formed a settlement on the river Ogeeche. Their number being increased the following year by several new colonists, God blessed their endeavours in such a manner, that in a short time, besides maintaining themselves and assisting their neighbours, they were able to repay the money advanced for them in London. They bore the character of peaceable, quiet and pious people, who were not seeking temporal advantages, but merely the salvation of the heathen.

For the attainment of this object, they erected a school-house on the island of Irene, in the river of Savannah, about five miles from the town, where many Indians resided, most of whom understood some English. Here the missionaries, P. Rose and his wife, Seiffart and Biener took up their abode; preached to the Indians, and kept school with their children. The Rev. Benj. Ingham, an English Clergyman, having come to Georgia, resided with them for some time, and rendered them important services, particularly in studying the language of the Indians.

Their labours here, however, were soon interrupted. The Spaniards endeavouring to expel the English from Georgia, the brethren were called upon to join the other colonists in taking up arms against them. This they refused,

* He had held the office of Theologus Adjunctus in the university of Halle in Saxony, and having joined the brethren, was afterwards consecrated a bishop of their church.

having before their arrival made a declaration to that effect, and obtained a legal exemption from personal military service. But, as their refusal displeased the rest of the inhabitants, they repaid all the money advanced to them, left their flourishing plantations, and retired to Pennsylvania.

But, unwilling totally to relinquish this promising field of labour, they availed themselves of the offer of the Rev. G. Whitefield to assist him in his establishment in Georgia, and for this purpose sent brother John Hagen thither in 1740. But all the men of the Creek Indians having gone to the war against the Spaniards, he could not effect much, and therefore returned to Pennsylvania.

Brother Spangenberg had meanwhile visited Germany, and excited such a lively interest in the Indian mission, that several brethren resolved to venture their lives in this benevolent but arduous service. One of these, Christian Rauch, was immediately dispatched to New York, where he arrived in July 1740. Some pious people endeavoured to dissuade him from his intention, representing it as a fruitless and dangerous enterprise; but his zeal and confidence in God were not shaken.

Having heard that an embassy of Mahikans were in the city, he went in search of them, and to his great joy found that they understood some Dutch. Their appearance was ferocious, and they were besides much intoxicated. When they had become sober, he addressed two of them, Tschoop and Shabash, inquiring, whether they wished for a teacher to instruct them in the way of salvation? They approved of his proposal and with due Indian solemnity declared him their teacher. At a subsequent interview, arrangements were made for his removal to the Indian town SHEKOMEKO, about twenty five miles east of North River, on the borders of Connecticut.

When Rauch arrived at the residence of these Indians, they received him with great kindness, and listened to his first address with marks of serious attention; but when he repeated his exhortations the next day, they derided

his words, and openly laughed him to scorn. Not discouraged by their taunts, he was indefatigable in visiting them in their huts, testifying of the evil of sin and of the grace of God in Christ Jesus. On these occasions he had to encounter many hardships. He had neither the means to keep a horse nor money to hire a boat, and thus suffered from the excessive heat and fatigue in travelling from one town to the other; and was not unfrequently denied admittance into their houses.

In a while, however, it pleased the Lord to open the ears and hearts of some of them. Tschoop, one of the two Indians whom he had met in New York, was the first who discovered any serious conviction of sin, and a desire to be instructed in the gospel. Soon after, his companion, Shabash, was likewise awakened; and the work of the holy Spirit in the hearts of these two savages strikingly evidenced itself. Their eyes overflowed with tears when the missionary discoursed to them of the sufferings and death of our Redeemer and the efficacy of his atonement. They lamented their former blindness in worshipping dumb idols, and their ignorance of the true God and our Saviour.

These proofs of the power and grace of God soon became public. The neighbouring christians were roused and made attentive to the gospel. They desired the missionary to preach to them, and the word was blessed to many. In this way he laboured for a whole year, never omitting an opportunity of beseeching and encouraging the heathen to come to Jesus Christ.

But now some white people conceiving their interests would be injured, if the Indians were converted to christianity, stirred up the heathen against him, and even instigated them to threaten his life, if he did not leave the place. He therefore deemed it most advisable to remove for a while, and take shelter with a farmer. This man, at first, raised various objections against the conversion of the Indians, but when he observed the zeal and devotedness of the missionary, he offered him board and lodging in his house upon condition that he should in-

struct his children, remarking: "we white people are as wicked and ignorant as the heathen."

In this family brother Rauch faithfully discharged the duties of a schoolmaster; but yet neglected no opportunity of fulfilling his missionary calling. In the execution of the latter, however, he met with many difficulties and impediments. Some of the white people sought opportunities to maltreat him, even threatening to hang him; others tried to seduce the Indians to inebriety, that they might murder him in a drunken frolic. In short, they employed every artful means to prepossess their minds against him; so that even Tschoop and Shabash were filled with mistrust. To these wicked machinations he opposed a meek and peaceable deportment. He was prudent and cautious in all his steps, never suffering his confidence in his Almighty protector to be shaken, but acting from a good conscience with firmness and courage, praying for his enemies, and sowing the word of God in tears.

By degrees, his meek and humble behaviour, his perseverance and courage gained the admiration of the Indians, and changed their conduct towards him. He went frequently among them, ate and drank with them, and even lay down to sleep in their huts with the greatest composure. This latter circumstance, in particular, excited their astonishment. Tschoop, once observing him asleep in his hut, confessed that he was mightily struck, and thought: "This man cannot be a bad man; he fears no evil, not even from us who are so savage, but sleeps comfortably, and places his life in our hands." Being upon further reflection convinced of the falsehood of the charges, brought against the missionary by the white people, he exerted himself to remove the prejudices from the minds of his countrymen; and in this he happily succeeded.

Having thus regained the confidence of the Indians, brother Rauch was unremitting in his labour for their good, and had the joy to observe, that many were powerfully impressed when discoursing to them of the love of Jesus to sinners. But, in no instance did the word reach the conscience with greater power, or more strikingly dis-

play its saving efficacy, than in the case of Tschoop. Before his conversion he was distinguished by every act of outrage and sin, and had even crippled himself by his debaucheries; but now the lion was tamed, and the slave of sin and the devil became a child of God and a preacher of righteousness to his countrymen. The account he once gave of his conversion, will best elucidate the striking change wrought in him. "Brethren," said he, "I have been a heathen, and have grown old amongst them; therefore I know how heathen think. Once a preacher came and began to explain to us, that there was a God. We answered, 'Dost thou think us so ignorant as not to know that? Return to the place from whence thou camest.' Then again another preacher came and said: 'You must not steal, nor lie, nor get drunk, &c.' We answered: 'Thou fool, dost thou think us ignorant of this? Learn first thyself, and then teach the people, to whom thou belongest, to leave off these things. For who steal, lie, or are more drunken than thine own people?' And thus we dismissed him. After some time brother Rauch came into my hut, sat down and spoke nearly as follows: 'I am come to you in the name of the Lord of heaven and of earth: He sends to let you know, that he will make you happy, and deliver you from the misery, in which you lie at present. For this end, he became a man, gave his life a ransom and shed his blood for sinners, &c.' When he had finished his discourse, he lay down, fatigued with his journey, and fell into a sound sleep. I thought: What kind of man is this? There he lies and sleeps; I might kill him and throw him into the wood, and who would regard it? But this gives him no concern. However, I could not forget his words. They constantly recurred to my mind. Even when asleep I dreamt of the blood Christ shed for us. I found this to be widely different from any thing I had heard before; and I interpreted Rauch's words to the other Indians. Thus, through the grace of God, an awakening commenced among us. I say, therefore, brethren, preach Christ our Saviour and his sufferings and death, if you would wish your words to gain entrance among the heathen *."

* Lockiel, Part ii. p. 14. By comparing this relation with that of the

Count Zinzendorf, having come to America to inspect the various colonies and settlements of the brethren in that quarter of the world, also visited this infant mission. On this occasion Tschoop, Shabash and two other Indians were admitted to the church of Christ by baptism, as the first fruits of that nation. The Count also made several journeys into the interior, whereby a friendly intercourse was established with some other Indian tribes. In one place he met with a numerous embassy of *Sachems*, or heads of the Iroquois, to whom he declared the purport of his visit. After about an hour's consultation, two of the ambassadors returned the following answer to the Count: "Brother, you have made a long voyage over the seas to preach to the white people and the Indians. You did not know that we were here, and we knew nothing of you. This proceeds from above. Come, therefore to us, both you and your brethren; we bid you welcome, and take this fathom of wampom in confirmation of the truth of our words." A kind of league was thus made between the brethren and the Iroquois, which was at that time of great importance, as they might have considerably obstructed the labours of our missionaries, had they been enemies.

SHEKOMOKO now became a flourishing little town. More missionaries joined brother Rauch, endowed with the same patient fortitude and ardent zeal, tempered with prudence, for the conversion of the heathen. The young converts were filled with joy and gratitude for the grace conferred upon them, testifying with a warm heart, both to white people and to Indians, of the love of God in Christ Jesus; and their christian deportment evidenced the reality of their profession. The gospel not only found attentive hearers in the neighbouring villages, but many savages came from a distance of twenty miles to hear the *great word*, as they termed it, and were often so much affected during the sermon, that they wept all the time, and some even fell on their faces, and by other expressive attitudes signified, how deeply the words had penetrated and humbled their hearts.

conversion of the first Greenlander, the resemblance will be found truly striking. See p. 27 & 31.

Meanwhile the other Indian nations were not wholly neglected by the brethren. Besides the endeavours of Count Zinzendorf and the persons in his company, our brethren at BETHLEHEM * frequently sent some of their number to preach in the Indian towns in their vicinity, which were chiefly inhabited by Delawares. No immediate success attended these endeavours, except that the kind and affable behaviour of the brethren prepossessed the savages in their favour, and thus paved the way for better things at a future period. These journeys were frequently attended with much fatigue and danger. On one occasion two of our brethren were obliged to pass through a forest, which had been set on fire, and to cross a large brook, which had overflowed its banks. But the God, whom they served, delivered them, and in this case also verified his promise: "*When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.*" Isa. xliii. 2.

In externals the missionaries had to endure many difficulties and trials. The enmity of many so called christians against the work of God among the heathen had not wholly subsided. They met with much opposition, and Satan was continually instigating his emissaries to harass and distress them. They lived and dressed in the Indian manner, so that in travelling they were often taken for Indians. As far as they could, they maintained themselves by the labour of their hands, being only assisted by our brethren in BETHLEHEM, when their own resources proved insufficient.

As most of the christian Indians, who visited at SHEKOMEKO, lived in PACHGATGOCH in Connecticut, at a distance of about twenty miles, they requested the magistrates to provide them with a preacher. Their petition

* Bethlehem lies in Pennsylvania, and forms a regular settlement of the brethren, such as Fairfield and Fulpeck in England, and Gracehill in Ireland, and was originally built by colonists from Germany, being members of the brethren's church. To the minister, elders and wardens of this settlement, called the *Elder's Conference*, the superintendency of the Indian mission was committed.

being rejected, they applied to the brethren in BETHLEHEM, who sent brother Mack and his wife thither. They were received with great joy even by the heathen, who remarked that they must love them very much, to undertake so long a journey in winter. Mack likewise made a journey to *Potatik*, about seventy miles further into the country. In both places the Lord evidently blessed his labour. Many were awakened to a sense of their lost condition and their need of a Saviour; and six Indians were baptized at the latter place.

The congregation at SHEKOMEKO continued to increase not only in number but also in grace and knowledge; but hitherto our missionaries had been scrupulous of admitting any to the Lord's Supper. Now, however, they thought it wrong to debar them any longer from this holy ordinance. Having therefore given their converts the needful instruction respecting its institution and the blessings thereby conveyed to true believers, they admitted ten of the christian Indians to partake with them of this sacred repast, in March 1743; and their number was augmented each succeeding month.

In July, the same year, a new chapel was opened at SHEKOMEKO. It was thirty feet long and twenty broad, and entirely covered with smooth bark. This enabled them better to regulate their meetings for worship. On Sundays and other festival occasions, SHEKOMEKO seemed all alive, and it might be said with truth that the believers shewed forth the death of the Lord, both early and late. Many heathen visited the place; and once, when above a hundred were there the missionaries observed, that wherever two or three were standing together, the love of God and the sufferings of Christ formed the subject of their conversation; and such was the zeal of the christian Indians, that they often testified of Jesus to their countrymen, till after midnight*. At the request of the inhabi-

* Mr. Weiser, a justice of the peace in Pennsylvania, bears a pleasing testimony of the grace prevailing at Shekomeko, in a letter, written to one of the missionaries after he had visited that place. He writes among the rest: "The faith of the Indians in our Lord Jesus Christ, their simplicity and unaffected deportment, their experience of the grace procured for us by the sufferings of

tants our missionaries drew up some rules for the regulation of their civil and social intercourse with each other, and for the observance of good order in the settlement; and they had the pleasure of finding, that whenever any of their converts had been guilty of transgressing these rules, they were ready to acknowledge their misconduct, and to listen to advice and instruction. Thus every thing seemed to flourish at SHEKOMEKO; the number of baptized Indians, at the close of the year, amounted to sixty three, exclusive of those residing in PACHGATGOCH. Besides these, they had a great many constant hearers, some of whom were under serious impressions of divine truth. Brother Mack and his wife now took up their residence at PACHGATGOCH, and built themselves a hut of bark, after the Indian manner. The wonderful effects, produced by the preaching of the gospel in this place, soon roused the attention of the whole neighbourhood. Some white people, who had been accustomed to make the dissolute lives of the Indians subservient to their own advantage, were exceedingly enraged, when they found them unwilling any longer to abet their wicked practices. They, therefore, resorted to every base artifice to seduce them, propagating the grossest calumnies against the missionaries; and as this did not succeed, they persuaded a clergyman of the church of England to join in their measures. He ordered the Indians to send to New England for a minister and schoolmaster; but they replied, that they were perfectly satisfied with the teacher they already had, and requested to enjoy the same religious liberty as all other denominations of christians in the state did. This answer exasperated the adversaries still more. They publicly stigmatized the brethren as papists and traitors,

Jesus, have impressed my mind with a firm belief, that God is with you. I thought myself seated in a company of primitive christians. They attended with great gravity and devotion; their eyes were steadily fixed upon their teacher, as if they would eat his words. John [Techoop] was the interpreter and acquitted himself in the best manner. I esteem him as a man anointed with grace and spirit.—The text of scripture, *Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to day, and for ever*, appeared to me as an eternal truth, when I beheld the venerable patriarchs of the American Indian church sitting around me, as living witnesses of the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and his atoning sacrifice. Their prayers are had in remembrance in the sight of God; and may God fight against their enemies. May the Almighty give to you and your assistants an open door to the hearts of all the heathen. *Lookiel, Part II. p. 53.*

and the missionaries, Mack, Shaw and Pyrleus, (the two latter being on a visit in PACHGATGOCH,) were taken prisoners, dragged up and down the country for three days, till the governor of Connecticut, after fully investigating the allegations brought against them, honourably dismissed them. However, as their enemies still continued to harass them, they thought it most prudent to retire for a while to SHEKOMEKO.

I forbear making particular mention of several visits, paid by our brethren, about this time to other Indian tribes, and shall only observe, that while, on the one hand, they had to suffer many hardships and much opposition, they met, on the other, with many proofs of the power of the gospel in "turning the gentiles from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God." In one place, a most savage Indian publicly burned his idols, and in a speech, delivered to his countrymen, lamented his former blindness and ignorance, with great energy exhorting them to turn to the Lord Jesus.

Hitherto, though exposed to various vexations, they had not met with any serious interruption to their labours; but in the spring of 1744 a violent and unmerited persecution was raised against them. Some white people continued to employ every artful means to alienate the affection of the indians from the brethren, and to seduce them to drunkenness and other vices. They circulated the basest insinuations against the missionaries, representing them as dangerous to the state, pretending that they were in league with the French, and intended to supply the savages with arms to fight against the English. This report, false as it was, spread such terror through the country, that the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Sharon, remained under arms, for a whole week, and some even forsook their plantations. The missionaries were now called upon to serve in the militia; but this they refused on the ground that as ministers of religion, they ought not to be compelled to bear arms. A second application to the same effect being likewise resisted by them, they were for several months dragged from one court to another, to be examined and answer to the allegation brought against them. They punctually obeyed every

summons, though with very great inconvenience to themselves and their work, and were enabled to disprove by unimpeachable evidence, every charge brought against them, at the same time protesting against the restriction laid upon them, and avowing their firm resolution rather to suffer any thing for conscience' sake, than disobey God and the lawful authority of the state. The magistrates were satisfied, dismissed them with every mark of respect, and gave them an honourable acquittal in writing, to protect them against the machinations of their enemies on their return to SHEKOMEKO.

Their adversaries, finding their scheme in this respect frustrated, resorted to other measures. Knowing the conscientious scruples of some of them against taking an oath, they exerted all their influence to obtain two acts of assembly in New York, which were passed in October; the one enjoining all suspicious persons to take the oaths of allegiance, and in case of refusal, to be expelled the country; the other positively prohibiting the brethren from instructing the Indians. December the 15th, the sheriff and three justices of the peace arrived at SHEKOMEKO, and in the name of the governor and council of New York, prohibited all meetings of the brethren, commanding the missionaries to appear before the court in *Pickipson*, on the 17th of that month. On their appearance, the act was read to them, by which they were expelled the country, under the old pretence of being in league with the French.

The injustice of this act was acknowledged by every candid and unprejudiced person. Bishop Spangenberg, who visited this settlement towards the close of the year, makes the following remarks in his journal: "The nearer we approached to SHEKOMEKO, the more veneration we found among all ranks of people, for the great work of God in that place. The justice of the peace at Milsy accompanied us, and declared that he would rather suffer his right hand to be cut off, than treat the brethren conformably to the act passed against them, for he was thoroughly convinced, that the grace of God had, by their means, wrought miracles in that place, &c. *."

* Lookiel, Part II. p. 64.

Our missionaries, however, deemed it not only prudent, but their duty, to obey the lawful authority of the state, and therefore retired to BETHLEHEM which lies in Pennsylvania, indeed with a heavy heart, but unshaken confidence in the Lord, that he would himself defend their cause and arise for the help of his oppressed people.

After their removal from SHEKOMEKO, the christian Indians continued their religious meetings as usual, and were occasionally visited by brethren from BETHLEHEM, though at the risk of persecution. Once, when a large company was returning to BETHLEHEM, the circumstance of the wife of one of the missionaries being an Indian woman, furnished some ill-disposed justices at Sopus, with a pretext for detaining them. They were insulted by the mob, and had to suffer much in the open street from cold and violent rain, and when at length permitted to proceed, were loaden with curses and reproaches. On another occasion two brethren were arrested at Albany, and after enduring many indignities, carried to New York and confined in prison for seven weeks.

Amidst the grief experienced in consequence of these disastrous events, they were greatly comforted by perceiving that their labour was not in vain in the Lord. Soon after their expulsion from SHEKOMEKO, they had the joy to baptize the first fruits of the gospel among the Delaware nation, a man and his wife. This solemn transaction was performed at BETHLEHEM. Being both of the family of the chief, their relations were highly displeased, considering the step they had taken as a disgrace to their rank, and in order to dissuade them from it invited them to visit them; but the two baptized persons, fearing their souls might suffer harm, declined going. Upon this their relations resolved to take them by force, and thirty six, among whom were several young warriors, came to BETHLEHEM with this intention. At first they behaved in a very turbulent manner, but being kindly treated, their anger abated, their countenances softened, and they entered freely into conversation with their two baptized friends and other christian Indians. Gottlieb, (such was the name of their baptized relative,) gave them a plain account of his

reasons for joining the christians, exhorting them also to believe in the Lord Jesus. During this conversation the savages seemed extremely uneasy, and early the next morning set off on their return. After some time they sent a message to Gottlieb, desiring him to come and instruct them. With this he complied, and had the satisfaction to see his own brother become a believer, and joined to the church by baptism.

Although the state of things at SHEKOMEKO was such as to afford our brethren sincere pleasure, yet the suspension of the regular services of the missionaries could not but eventually prove injurious to the congregation. It was therefore proposed to the christian Indians to remove from the province of New York, and settle near BETHLEHEM till a more eligible spot could be procured for their future establishment. But, contrary to expectation, the inhabitants of SHEKOMEKO shewed themselves averse from this measure, and among other reasons, alleged, that the governor of New York had expressly commanded them to stay in their own town, promising them his protection; and that, were they even to remove, some of their relations, especially the young, would still remain there and be easily seduced to their former sinful practices. An event, however, soon after occurred, which induced them gladly to accede to the proposal of our brethren. Some white people came to a resolution to expel the christian Indians by main force, under pretence that the ground on which SHEKOMEKO stood, belonged to other people. The governor of New York not attending to their petition for his interference; the white people seized upon the land and appointed a watch to prevent all visits from BETHLEHEM. The old accusations of disloyalty were renewed, and gained so many supporters, that the inhabitants of Reinbeck demanded a warrant of the justice to kill all the Indians at SHEKOMEKO. The warrant indeed was not granted, yet the situation of the people there became so very distressing, that they were glad to emigrate.

Ten families of these emigrants, consisting of forty-four persons arrived at BETHLEHEM in April 1746. They immediately built some huts near the settlement, as a mere

temporary residence, to which they gave the name of **FRIEDENSHUETTEN**. But as an Indian town could not be supported so near to **BETHLEHEM**, our brethren purchased two hundred acres of land, lying at the junction of the rivers Mahony and Lecha, about thirty miles distant. This situation pleased the Indians much, and they immediately began to plant, and lay out a town, calling it **GNADENHUETTEN**. The building of this place was not only attended with expense, but also with much trouble. The land, being overgrown with wood, had first to be cleared, and the Indians, having neither knowledge nor skill in agriculture, the heaviest part of the labour fell upon our brethren; but they cheerfully endured every fatigue, considering it as done in the service of the Lord.

When intelligence of this new settlement reached **SHEKOMEKO** and **PACHGATGOCH**, many Indians in those places were induced to remove to it, so that, in a short time, it contained more inhabitants than the two former; and soon became a very regular town. The church stood in a valley; on one side, upon rising ground, were the Indian houses, forming a crescent, and on the other the mission-house and burying-ground. The missionaries and every Indian family had plantations. The road to Wayomick and other Indian towns lay through the settlement.

In **SHEKOMEKO** the prospect appeared daily more precarious. The French Indians, having made inroads into the country, had advanced within a day's journey of that town, on their way setting fire to houses and murdering the inhabitants. By these circumstances, and being called upon to join in the war, the christian Indians, still remaining in that settlement, were kept in constant fear and anxiety. The brethren could not come to their assistance till in July 1746, when Hagan and Post went thither from **BETHLEHEM**. It was now found necessary to give up every idea of keeping meetings for divine worship in that place, but the chapel was, by a written deed of gift, secured to the Indians, as their property. Thus our brethren concluded their labours in **SHEKOMEKO**, with sorrowful hearts, yet praising God, who had first caused the light of the

gospel to shine to the heathen in this place. Within the space of two years sixty-one adults had been made partakers of holy baptism, exclusive of those baptized in BETHLEHEM.

During the troubles in SHEKOMEKO various disorders had occurred among the converts. Some had been seduced to join in sinful practices, and others, through the calumnies of adversaries had imbibed prejudices against the missionaries. The brethren, however, had the joy to find, that most of them became sensible of their errors, and with sincere penitence confessed their deviations. Such penitents were received with open arms at BETHLEHEM and GNADENHUETTEN. As an example of the figurative manner in which the Indians generally express themselves, the language of one of these penitents may be quoted: "I am like a child," said he "whose father loves him dearly, clothes him well, and gives him all he stands in need of; afterwards the child becomes refractory, deserts his parent and despises his counsel. At length, the child, through his folly loses all the good things he possessed, his clothes become ragged, and nakedness and want follow. Then, remembering how well he fared, he repents and weeps day and night, scarcely presuming to return. This is precisely my case."

The Indian congregation at GNADENHUETTEN continued for several years in a pleasing course, and increased to about five hundred persons. Besides other useful regulations, schools were established. The place was often visited by heathen, who were treated with hospitality and kindness, and no means were neglected for directing their attention to the gospel. Nothing, in general, made a deeper impression upon the savages, than the peace and harmony prevailing among the christian Indians, and their contentment amidst all difficulties. The sincerity of their profession evinced itself in many ways. They diligently attended to their work and the cultivation of their fields, and when necessary for their support went out to hunt. Their firm confidence in our Saviour, shewed itself in many trying circumstances. Thus when the small pox broke out among them, they bore the sickness with

patience, manifesting but little fear of death; and the cheerful and happy disposition of those who departed this life, was truly edifying. Their solicitude for the christian education of their children, was another proof of the change wrought on their minds. Such is the excessive fondness of the Indians, that they hardly ever suffer their children to be out of sight; but now many of them, seeing the temptations to which they would be exposed at home, entreated the brethren, even with tears, to receive them into the schools at BETHLEHEM; a request which, if possible, was always acceded to.

The labours of our brethren for the conversion of the Indians at this period, were not confined to GNADENHUTTEN. They improved every opportunity that offered for propagating the gospel, and undertook many difficult and perilous journeys. The Iroquois more particularly engaged their attention, and on this account they made several visits to *Stomokin* and other towns on the Susquehannah, and by degrees established themselves in that place. The inhabitants of this town being noted for ferocity and licentiousness, our missionaries witnessed many barbarous and profligate scenes, and were more than once in danger of being murdered by them when intoxicated; and no permanent advantages were gained by their exertions. During a journey to Onondago, the chief town of the Iroquois and the seat of the great council, a solemn league, executed with due Indian formalities, was made between the council and our brethren, by which the latter obtained permission for two of them to reside in that country for the purpose of learning the language.

Their endeavours in other places were more successful especially at PACHGATGOCH and *Wechquatnach*, in the neighbourhood of SHEKOMEKO, where a few christian Indians, who had not emigrated with the rest, were still residing. The missionary David Bruce was appointed to this station in 1748; and the year after had the pleasure of seeing twenty Indians added to the church by baptism. But that very year he finished his earthly pilgrimage, being succeeded by brother Abr. Büniger. The believers there continued for several years to enjoy rest and peace, and increased to upwards of a hundred.

Meniolagomekah, situate at no great dissance from BETHLEHEM, was another promising station, occupied during this period, where many of the inhabitants became obedient to the gospel. In a few years, however, the white people seized upon their plantations; and as our brethren could not succeed in making a purchase of the land, their converts were obliged to remove to GNADENHUETTEN in 1754.

In the summer of 1752 an embassy of Nantikoks and Shawanose, consisting in all of one hundred and seven persons, arrived at GNADENHUETTEN, and established a solemn league of friendship between themselves and the brethren. Another embassy of these tribes, attended by three Iroquois Indians and consisting of twenty-two persons, came to GNADENHUETTEN the following spring, and to the no small astonishment of our brethren, proposed to them to quit that settlement and remove to *Wayomik*, a town belonging to the Shawanose. They assigned no particular reason for this unexpected proposal; in the sequel, however, it appeared that it was in reality an act of friendship. For as the savages were secretly determined to join the French in hostilities against the English, they wished to furnish a safe retreat to their countrymen of GNADENHUETTEN, that they might the more easily fall upon the white people in those parts. In this view the Iroquois had called the Nantikoks from *Wayomik* into their neighbourhood, to make room for the christian Indians.

However unpleasant the projected removal was, our brethren would not interfere in the business, lest the old calumny of intending to enslave the Indians, should be revived, but left their converts entirely to act as they pleased. After evincing considerable reluctance at quitting their pleasant settlement, and real sorrow of being thus separated from their teachers, upwards of eighty finally determined to remove to *Wayomik* and *Neskopeko*. After their arrival in these places, they were occasionally visited by some of the missionaries, who found these poor exiles still walking in the fear of God, and even of use to their heathen countrymen, by their zealous testimony of Christ and his atonement. But their external situation was by no means desirable. All the people, residing on

the Susquehannah were in constant fear and terror both of the Catawas, then at war with the Iroquois, who made frequent incursions into the country, and of the French, who threatened the Indians with fire and sword, unless they acted in concert with them against the English. Besides this, the people of New England, who laid claim to *Wayomik*, were advancing with an intention of seizing the land by force. These circumstances obliged the Indians to forsake that town in 1756.

Our missionaries were still lamenting the emigration of so many of their converts from GNADENHUETTEN, when their sorrow was unexpectedly turned into joy, by the arrival of the Indians from *Meniolagomekah*. This enlivened the congregation at GNADENHUETTEN, and animated the native assistants with new zeal and fidelity in the discharge of their duties. Their external troubles, however, did not yet terminate. They had not only a kind of tax imposed upon them, to show their dependence on the Iroquois; but the following very singular message was sent them, "The great head, i. e. the council in Onondago, speak the truth and lie not: they rejoice that some of the believing Indians have moved to *Wayomik*, but now they lift up the remaining Mahikans and Delawares*, and set *them* down also in *Wayomik*; for *there* a fire is kindled for them, and *there* they may plant and think on God: but if they will not hear, the great head will come and clean their ears with a red-hot iron; (meaning they would set their houses on fire) and shoot them through the head with musquet-balls." The chief of the Shawanose, who delivered this message, then turned to the missionaries, earnestly demanding of them not to hinder their converts from removing to *Wayomik*.

This message spread general consternation through GNADENHUETTEN, especially the concluding address to the missionaries. It was soon discovered, that this proposal did not originate in the great council at Onondago, but with the Oneida tribe and the warlike Mahikans and Delawares, aided by some persons of consequence in Phila-

* The inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten belonged to these nations.

delphia, who hoped thereby to attain their own ends. Our brethren left the inhabitants of GNADENHUETTEN to their free choice, whether to go or stay, only warning them, in an affectionate manner, of the dangers they might incur for their souls by their removal. This had the desired effect. Several, whose conduct had been blamable, ingenuously owned their transgressions, begging forgiveness of the rest: which was granted with joy. The grace of God was, perhaps, never more evident, than in seeing an Indian, naturally obstinate and inflexible to a high degree, appear before a whole body of people as an humbled sinner, and ask pardon of God and those whom he had offended. Thus, most of them resolved to stay, and they remained firm. When, shortly after, the message was repeated in a more stern tone, an Indian brother said: "What can the head chief of the six nations give me in exchange for my soul? He never considers, how that will fare at last." Another remarked: "God, who made and saved me, can protect me, if he please; I am not afraid of the wrath of man; for not one hair of my head can fall to the ground without *His* will." And a third observed, "If even one of them should lift up his hatchet against me and say, 'depart from the Lord and the brethren,' I would not do it."

The congregation at GNADENHUETTEN had now a short season of rest, and walking in the fear of the Lord, and the comforts of the holy Ghost, was edified. The brethren improved this interval of repose by sending missionaries to preach and administer the sacraments to the christian Indians residing in other places, and propagating the gospel among the heathen. These journeys were attended with many dangers; but they thought themselves richly compensated, by finding their converts in most places walking worthily of the gospel, and having the satisfaction to add others to the church by baptism.

The repose at GNADENHUETTEN was of short duration. A cruel Indian war, occasioned by the contest between the English and the French, broke out, spreading terror and confusion through the whole country. The first outrage was committed near *Shomokin*, where three of our mis-

sionaries resided, but through the mercy of God they were all preserved, though exposed to continual danger. Our brethren in GNADENHUETTEN were not so fortunate. Being considered as friends to the British government, they were in the most imminent danger of being attacked by the Indians in league with the French, and as the most dreadful reports reached them from all quarters, some were so much intimidated, that they fled into the woods. The greater part, however, staid in the settlement, resigned to the will of God, and gave the most encouraging assurances, that they would not forsake each other, but remain united in life and death.

But God had otherwise ordained. Late in the evening of the 24th of November, 1755, while the missionaries were at supper, their attention was suddenly roused by the continual barking of dogs, which was followed by the report of a gun. On opening the door of the mission-house, they observed a party of hostile Indians standing before the house with their pieces pointed towards the door. On its being opened they immediately fired, and Martin Nitschman was killed on the spot. His wife and some others were wounded, but ran up-stairs into the garret and barricaded the door with bedsteads. Hither the savages pursued them; but not being able to force open the door, they set fire to the house, which was soon enveloped in flames. Two of the brethren had previously made their escape by jumping out of a back window; and now a boy leaped down from the flaming roof, though not till one of his cheeks had been grazed by a ball and his hand much burned. Sister Partsch, whose husband had escaped out of the window, likewise ventured to leap down from the burning roof, and unobserved by the enemies, hid herself behind a tree on rising ground, from whence she had a full view of the tragical scene. Brother Fabricius, in attempting to make his escape in the same manner, was perceived by the Indians, and instantly wounded by two balls. They then seized him, and having dispatched him with their hatchets, took his scalp and left him dead on the ground. Eleven persons, belonging to the mission were burned alive, among whom was a child only fifteen months old. Sister Senseman, already surrounded by the flames, was

heard to exclaim : "*'Tis all well, dear Saviour ! I expected nothing else.*" The murderers now set fire to the barns and stables, by which all the corn, hay and cattle were consumed ; and heaving made a harty meal, departed.

This melancholy occurrence proved the deliverance of the Indian congregation at GNADENHUETTEN ; for, upon hearing the report of the guns, seeing the flames and learning the dreadful cause from those who escaped, the Indian brethren offered to attack the enemy without delay ; but being advised to the contrary, they all fled into the woods, and the settlement was cleared of its inhabitants in a few minutes. By the exertions and persuasions of the missionary, Shebosh, who remained alone in GNADENHUETTEN, most of the fugitive converts returned the next day. And in consequence of a petition, presented by our brethren in BETHLEHEM, the governor of Pennsylvania sent a party of soldiers into these parts, for the protection of the christian Indians and the country in general. But on new year's day 1756 the savages attacked these troops, set fire to the settlement and the mill, and laid waste all the plantations ; by which both the congregation and the missionaries were reduced to the greatest poverty.

Disastrous as were these events, they served to avert a far greater calamity. The adversaries of the brethren, about this time, had secretly formed a design of overthrowing their whole establishment in North America. The most unfounded reports of being in league with the French were industriously disseminated, and a base fabrication, purporting to be a letter written by a French officer, was inserted in the Newspaper, in which he was represented as saying, that "the Moravians were their good friends and would give them every assistance in their power against the English." A general suspicion was thus excited against the brethren throughout the country, which went so far, that in the Jerseys proclamation was made, with beat of drum, that BETHLEHEM should be destroyed ; and the most dreadful threats were added, that in BETHLEHEM, GNADENHUETTEN and other places, a carnage should be made, such as had never before been heard of in North America. It was afterwards ascertain-

ed, that a party of a hundred men who came to BETHLEHEM, was sent for the express purpose of raising a mob : but the kind and hospitable manner in which they were treated by the brethren, who were ignorant of their design, overcame their malice and softened their rage. It was not, however, till after the destruction of GNADENHUETTEN, that the public sentiment respecting the brethren underwent a complete revolution, and opened the eyes of their adversaries to the falsehood of the charge, that they were in league with the French, when they saw that *they* were the first sufferers from that very quarter. Many exclaimed even with tears : " How greatly have we sinned against an innocent people ! What should we have had to answer for, had we followed our design of exterminating the brethren, and murdering their men, women and children, upon the vague supposition that they were our enemies."

After the attack on GNADENHUETTEN, a few of the Indian converts fled to *Wayomik*, which place they reached in safety ; but the greater part flocked to BETHLEHEM, where they were lodged, clothed and fed with brotherly kindness. But this very circumstance rendered the situation of our brethren there peculiarly critical. The savages, on the one hand, insisted upon their taking up arms against the English, threatening to murder them in case of refusal. On the other hand, a set of fanatics arose, who demanded the total extirpation of *all* the Indians, lest God's vengeance should fall upon the christians for not destroying the Indians, as the Israelites were commanded to do in the case of the Canaanites. These people were greatly incensed against BETHLEHEM, on account of the protection and assistance, granted to a race of beings, whom they considered accursed. The inhabitants of BETHLEHEM, therefore, looked upon themselves as sheep ready for the slaughter ; and never knew, when going to bed at night, whether they would rise the next morning.

In this critical and alarming situation they preserved unshaken confidence in God. Their courage, in maintaining their station, proved a comfort and protection to

their neighbours; for if they had fled, nothing could have obstructed the inroads of the savages. But, while firmly relying on the help of the Lord, they neglected nothing that might tend to their safety. The settlement was surrounded by pallisades, and guarded both night and day, Europeans and Indians taking their turn with great willingness. This precaution proved the means of preserving the settlement, while many adjacent villages were laid in ashes.

The firmness of the brethren and their good political regulations, induced great numbers of their distressed neighbours to take refuge with them. Several hundred women and children came from a distance, and with tears begged for shelter. All were admitted as long as there was any room; and thus not only BETHLEHEM, but the four contiguous settlements of NAZARETH, CHRISTIANSBRUNN, FRIEDENSTHAL and the ROSE, were crowded with fugitives. Though, in consequence of the war, their own resources were greatly exhausted, our brethren exerted themselves to the utmost of their power to provide for their numerous guests. Thus wonderfully did the wisdom of God overrule passing events. The very people, who were but lately suspected of a secret correspondence with the enemy, now became the protectors and defenders of those, who through ignorance had aspersed their character and meditated their destruction.

Under the wings of BETHLEHEM, the Indian congregation now enjoyed a season of repose. Some additional, temporary dwellings were erected for them; the schools commenced anew and were diligently attended, and three missionaries were appointed for their immediate service. Portions of the scripture, the litany and several hymns were translated, and the children oft met together and sang the praises of their God and Saviour, in German, Mahikan and Delaware hymns. Thus BETHLEHEM assumed the appearance of a missionary settlement. Amidst much external poverty and distress, the grace of God ruled in their hearts; and both the Indian converts and the original European colonists *shewed forth the praises of Him, who called them out of darkness into his marvellous light.*

The residence of the Indians in BETHLEHEM, however, was attended with various difficulties; both our brethren, therefore, and the Indians themselves wished to have a settlement of their own. Application being made to the governor, he readily acceded to this measure; and in June 1757 a piece of land was assigned them, about a mile from BETHLEHEM, on which they erected a town, and called it NAIN. Most of the christian Indians, who, during the late troubles, had moved to Wayomik or fled to the Susquehannah, now sought permission to live in NAIN; and thus this new settlement rapidly increased. Numbers of savages visited both NAIN and BETHLEHEM, and the testimony of Christ and his atonement, seconded by the pious conversation of their christian countrymen, proved in many instances the means of their conversion.

This period of trouble and difficulty was succeeded by four or five years of peace and tranquillity. After the burning of Fort Duquesne by the French, the scene of the contest was changed, and from the beginning of the year 1759, neither Pennsylvania, nor the neighbouring provinces, were disturbed by the Indians. Thus all the settlements of the brethren in these provinces enjoyed rest and prosperity; and so rapidly advanced in the esteem of their neighbours, that those who formerly had been their bitterest enemies, and even sought their entire expulsion, were now, in general, pleased with their being settled in the vicinity.

The Indian congregation at NAIN increased so fast, that it was found expedient, to purchase fourteen hundred acres of land behind the Blue Mountains, in order to form an additional settlement. The building of this place (called WECHQUETANK,) was begun the following spring.

About this time David Zeisberger, accompanied by an Indian brother, undertook a journey to *Mackwihlusing* on the Susquehannah. A report had reached our brethren, that the Indians in that place had been in a remarkable manner stirred up to inquire the way of truth, and were very desir-

ous to obtain a teacher to instruct them. When our travellers approached the town, they found this report confirmed. For, being met by one of the inhabitants, he informed them, that their council had assembled six days successively, to consider how they might procure a teacher of the truth. Under these favourable circumstances Zeisberger and his companion entered the town, and were received with general demonstrations of joy, being lodged by Papunhank *. In the evening all the inhabitants met, and our missionary and his companion, though greatly fatigued with their journey, testified to them of the grace of God till midnight; and resumed their labours by five o'clock the next morning, the people being eager to hear the *great word*, before they began their daily occupations. The result was, that upon a regular application from the heads of families to our brethren in BETHLEHEM, brother Zeisberger was appointed to reside among them.

But, while rejoicing at the favourable reception given to his testimony of the gospel, events occurred, which rendered his recal to BETHLEHEM necessary. Intelligence had been received, that the Indians had commenced fresh hostilities near the Canadian lakes and on the Ohio, where they had murdered several hundred settlers, and renewed their incursions into Pennsylvania; from which a repetition of the dreadful scenes in 1755 was apprehended.

The settlements of WECHQUETANK and NAIN were now placed in the most critical situation. One alarming report after the other reached them, which made it needful to keep up a constant watch during the night. The chris-

* This Indian had for some time set up for a preacher of morality among his people; but as his instructions had no influence, either on himself or his hearers, in changing their profligate conduct, the latter began to doubt whether his doctrines were true. Having afterwards himself visited Nain, heard the gospel and been present at a baptism, he was so overcome, that he burst into tears and exclaimed: "O God! have mercy upon me, and grant that the death of my Saviour may be made manifest unto me." On his return he thus addressed his countrymen: "My dear people, I have told you many good things, and pointed out what I considered a good way; but I have now learnt, that it was not the *right* way. If we wish to be saved, we must look to that Saviour, whom the brethren preach." He was the first in Machwibi-lusing who was admitted to holy baptism, and by his profession and conduct evidenced that a real change had taken place in him.

tian Indians finally resolved to take no part in the contest, any further than defending themselves against the savages. Under these circumstances the Indian brethren showed great faith and courage. One of them remarked: "Wicked people are as weak as worms in the sight of our Saviour: he can and will protect us, and cause fear to fall upon *them*." His words were verified on the very next day, being the 9th of October 1763; for, on that day, about fifty white men assembled on the opposite side of the Lecha, with a view to surprise NAIN in the night, and murder all the inhabitants. But, a neighbouring friend representing in strong terms the danger and difficulty of such an attempt, the enemies abandoned their design and returned home.

The same day on which NAIN was in such imminent danger, a party of Irish freebooters came to WESCHQUETANK, intending to murder all the Indians there, whom they accused of being accomplices in a late murder committed in their colony. No remonstrances of the missionary could restrain their fury, till he at length pacified them by presents, and by plentifully supplying them with meat and drink. Upon this they quietly quitted the settlement, not however, without repeating their threats to return and execute their barbarous design, unless the Indians would soon remove from that place. During the night all the men were upon the watch; several spies were observed lurking about the settlement, and a fire at some distance betrayed a neighbouring encampment. Our brethren, therefore, apprehended a sudden attack, which was probably prevented by violent rain, that fell during the night.

It now became sufficiently evident, that it would be extreme temerity to postpone their flight any longer; especially as a messenger just then arrived from BETHLEHEM with the most pressing solicitations to the Indians to break up immediately, and retire to the settlement at NAZARETH*. While preparing for their departure, they were suddenly alarmed by the report of several musquets. The

* Nazareth, like Bethlehem, was a colony of European brethren and sisters.

christian Indians, supposing that the savages had attacked the white people, resolved to go and defend them. But the missionary dissuaded them from this, exhorting them to stand by each other and expect deliverance from God. "Very true," replied one of them, "only don't you stand before me, but go behind, for I will be shot first." The party, from whom the attack was apprehended, suddenly marched off with the Indian war-hoop; and it was afterwards discovered, that the firing proceeded from a party of soldiers. Thankful for having escaped this danger, the whole congregation left WECHQUETANK on the 11th of October, and arrived the next day, in safety at NAZARETH, where they were welcomed with joy, and provided with every comfort and accommodation which their circumstances required.

In the mean time NAIN was closely blockaded. The savages continued to lay waste the country and murder the neighbouring settlers. This increased the fury of the latter against the Indians, so that the inhabitants of NAIN could no longer venture to go to BETHLEHEM, but were obliged to employ a European brother to transact their business. No Indian even ventured to fetch wood, or look after his cattle, except he was accompanied by a white brother, or had a passport in his pocket. Even at home the men were forced to keep strict watch, both day and night. In this trying situation they remained for four weeks; but the peace of God and brotherly love ruled among them, and supported their courage and patience.

Having made such regulations for defence, that the enemy could not attempt an attack without danger, they flattered themselves, that government would have assisted them. But very unexpectedly affairs took a different turn. Renatus, a harmless Indian, was suddenly apprehended as the murderer of one of the Irish settlers, and his person being sworn to by the widow of the deceased, he was conveyed to Philadelphia, and imprisoned. The news of this occurrence rapidly spread through the country, and enflamed the rage of the settlers against the Indians. The inhabitants therefore expected nothing but the most cruel treatment.

In this dreadful emergency God appeared for their help, and by inclining the chief magistrate to afford them protection, rescued them from the hand of their enemies. November the 6th an express arrived from Philadelphia, with an order from government, that all the christian Indians from NAIN and WECHQUETANK should repair to that city, where they would be protected, on delivering up their arms. This measure was indeed very painful to the Indians, who declared they would rather die than leave their teachers. But, being assured that the missionaries would not forsake them, they cheerfully acquiesced. And when the sheriff arrived, they delivered their arms to him with a composure of mind, which strikingly evidenced the change wrought in them through the gospel, for a heathen Indian would rather part with his head than with his gun.

The Indians of NAIN, having joined their christian countrymen of WECHQUETANK, who had previously removed to NAZARETH, the whole company set out on their pilgrimage in the afternoon of the 8th of November, accompanied by the missionaries Grube and Schmick, with their wives, and the two single brethren, David Zeisberger and John Rothe, under the conduct of the sheriff, who cared for them like a father. It was a most affecting sight to behold these people, among whom were many aged, infirm and sick, besides pregnant women and young children, proceeding patiently along the road, ignorant of their future fate. Though waggons were provided for the sick, the aged and the children, yet they suffered much from fatigue and other hardships, and still more from the malice of some settlers on the road, who abused and loaded them with curses.

Having on the 11th of November arrived at Philadelphia, they were ordered to be lodged in the barracks; but notwithstanding the positive order of government, the soldiers forcibly refused them admittance. The poor Indians were kept standing in the street for five hours. A mob soon collected, who derided, reviled and charged them with all the outrages committed by the savages, threatening to kill them on the spot, which they would no

doubt have executed, had the Indians returned evil for evil. The zealous interference of the missionaries in behalf of their beloved converts, exposed them to the most imminent danger from the fury of the populace.

The magistrates at length interposed, ordering them to proceed six miles further to Province Island in the river Delaware, where they were lodged in some large buildings. In passing through the city, thousands followed them with tumultuous clamour, so that they might be compared to sheep among wolves. Here they settled as well as circumstances would permit, and regulated their daily meetings for worship, which proved a great comfort to them. Several gentlemen in Philadelphia, especially some Quakers, humanely interested themselves in their behalf, and they were kindly supplied by government with whatever they needed.

They had not been here long, when intelligence was received, that WECHQUETANK had been burnt by some of the settlers, and that some incendiaries had endeavoured to set fire to BETHLEHEM, and actually laid the oil-mill in ashes, the adjoining water-work being with great difficulty saved from destruction. Our brethren, therefore, were truly thankful, that the christian Indians had found a safe retreat in Province Island; and this the more so, when informed of an act of horrid cruelty, committed by some white people, calling themselves christians. Fifty-seven of these barbarians attacked a party of peaceable Indians in the village of Canestoga near Lancaster, and murdered fourteen of them in their huts. The rest fled to Lancaster, where the magistrates protected and lodged them in the work-house, a strong and well secured building. But the white savages pursued them, marched into the town at noon-day, broke into the work-house, and though the Indians begged their lives on their knees, yet they inhumanly murdered them all, and threw their mangled bodies into the streets. They then departed with a dreadful shout of victory, threatening that the Indians in Province Island should share the same fate,

So general and inveterate was the rage of the white peo-

ple, and such the state of anarchy and insubordination in the country, that in defiance of every proclamation from government, they boldly avowed their determination to massacre all the christian Indians. This induced the government to send them by way of New York to the English army. Late in the evening of January 4th, 1764, they received orders to this effect, and before midnight embarked in some boats, proceeding by water to a place about five miles from Philadelphia, which city they reached almost unobserved early in the morning. The commissary, Mr. Fox, having kindly supplied them with blankets, and provided waggons for the aged, the sick and the children, and the heavy baggage, they set out accompanied by the missionaries. The pressure of the immense crowd, which had collected, was so great, that they could hardly proceed; the mob cursed and reviled them in the most shocking manner; but no one ventured to lay hands on them, being escorted by a company of seventy Highlanders. In every town, through which they passed, they were insulted by the populace; but God mercifully prevented serious mischief, and in about a week they safely reached Amboy, where two sloops lay ready to carry them to New York. They were just preparing to embark, when very unexpectedly strict orders arrived from the governor of New York, that no Indian should set foot on that territory; and even the ferry-men were prohibited, under a severe penalty, from conveying them across the river.

They were now lodged in the barracks at Amboy, waiting for further orders. Here they held their daily meetings; and, as great numbers of strangers attended, divine service was performed in the open air. Their devotion and good behaviour excited general admiration, and many conceived a more favourable opinion of them. A soldier once said: "Would God, that all the white people were as good christians as these Indians."

Orders having meanwhile arrived from Philadelphia, for their return to that city, the Indians cheerfully obeyed, confident that the Lord, in his inscrutable wisdom, had directed their toilsome peregrinations for some gracious

purposes. This journey was often rendered peculiarly dangerous in crossing the rivers, which were frozen over, the ice not being every where sufficiently firm. Their daily meetings, which they never suspended during their travels, were attended by many white people, with astonishment and edification.

Having safely reached Philadelphia on the 24th of January, 1764, they were for security lodged in the barracks, and attended by a military guard day and night. As the fury and number of the mob still increased, the magistrates were obliged to adopt more serious measures. The guard was doubled, eight pieces of cannon were planted before the barracks, and a rampart thrown up in the middle of the square. The citizens, among whom there were even many young Quakers, took up arms and repaired to the barracks in defence of the Indians. Twice the rebels prepared for an attack, but being fully informed of the measures of defence taken by government, abandoned their murderous design. Upon this some gentlemen were deputed to inquire into their complaints. After much insolent behaviour, they asserted, that there were several murderers among the christian Indians, whom they had seen at Pittsburg, and demanded that they should be delivered up. To pacify them, one of the ringleaders was admitted into the barracks; but after very strict examination of all the Indians, he did not find an individual chargeable with the smallest crime. Another allegation, that the Quakers had secreted six of them, proving equally unfounded, tranquility was finally restored.

During their residence in the barracks, which lasted rather more than a year, they regularly held their meetings for religious worship, which on Sundays were frequented by such crowds of people, that the chapel could not contain them: yet the greatest silence and order were preserved, and in several instances the gospel was accompanied with saving power. At stated times they observed the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, and some were admitted to holy baptism. The missionary Grube even commenced an English school, and the Indian youths took great delight in learning. Though the many visits

of strangers were occasionally attended with inconvenience, yet they tended to convince many ill-disposed persons of the innocence of the Indians and their true conversion to God.

To the Indians, however, their present situation was a severe trial, and to some even more afflicting than all their past dangers. The superior quality of their victuals, to which they had not been accustomed, was no more conducive to their health, than the want of exercise and proper employment were congenial to their minds and habits. Their close confinement became insupportable and revolting to their notions of independence and liberty. This was especially the case with the young people; some grew low-spirited, others dissatisfied and even refractory; and many suffered harm by their intercourse with the unconverted Indians, quartered in the same barracks. This caused the missionaries much grief and perplexity, being on the one hand obliged to hear all the complaints of the dissatisfied, and on the other hand aware that government justly looked to them for the maintenance of good order and subordination. As summer advanced fevers and the small-pox broke out amongst them, which occasioned such terror, that many meditated their escape from the barracks. But God so evidently blessed the endeavours of the missionaries, that their uneasiness was changed into perfect resignation to the will of the Lord. No less than fifty six persons departed this life, many of them, not only with composure, but in full assurance of eternal glory.

Among the christian Indians, lodged in the barracks, none had a harder fate than one, called Renatus. This poor man had been thrown into prison upon repeated accusations on oath, that he was the murderer of Mr. S. in the Irish settlement. During his confinement, which lasted eight months, three of his nearest relations died by means of the infectious disease, rife in the barracks. When informed of this he burst into tears and exclaimed: "This is almost too much to bear; to lose my father, my wife and my child, while I myself am confined in prison." The missionaries frequently visited him in his cell, where he spent his time in reading and prayer. His trial took

place at Easton, and after a most patient investigation of the evidence adduced on both sides, the jury returned a verdict of *not guilty*; upon which he was immediately set at liberty. This decision was of great benefit to the missionary labours of our brethren, as it entirely frustrated the aim of their enemies, to cast an odium upon the believing Indians and render the mission generally suspected.

Hostilities having at length terminated and peace being restored, the directors of the mission lost no time in endeavouring to obtain an eligible place for a settlement for the christian Indians, and for this purpose preferred the country on the banks of the Susquehannah. The government readily acceded to their proposal, permitting them to leave the barracks, and liberally supplied them with all necessaries. Mr. Fox even procured a grant, by which they were provided with flour from the time of their arrival on the Susquehannah, till their new planted Indian corn should be ripe. Before their departure the Indian brethren delivered an address of thanks to the governor, for the kindness he had manifested towards them, which was signed by four in the name of the rest, and graciously received.

March 20th, 1765 they left the barracks in Philadelphia and commenced their journey, resting a few days at NAIN and BETHLEHEM. The animosity of the white people having not yet wholly subsided, they were obliged to take a very circuitous route, which rendered the journey tedious and difficult. The road lay through extensive forests, frequently without a path, so that they had to cut their way for miles, through the woods, and to ford many rivers. The men generally waded through, and constructed rafts for the women and children. Some rivers were so broad and deep, that they were obliged to encamp on the banks till they had built a sufficient number of canoes to cross them. In some places they were obliged to unload the waggons, and carry the luggage over high, steep and craggy hills. When they halted in the evening, every family erected a hut for the night, keeping up a large fire. All the fatigue and toils of the day were for-

gotten, when at night, they assembled in the open air, round a large fire, to return thanks to the Lord for his mercies during the day, and supplicate his protection for the night. Their greatest difficulty arose from the want of provisions, whenever they passed through a territory which afforded neither game nor fish. Those who had any thing in store were always ready to divide with the rest. Their whole stock of flour being at length consumed, it was a truly affecting sight, to see them receive their last portion. They occasionally found wild potatoes, and hunger overcame the unpleasant taste of these roots. At other times they peeled chestnut trees, and sucked the juice oozing out under the bark, which is very sweet, and was particularly palatable to the children. Frequently they had no other drink but muddy water found in puddles. One night they were greatly terrified, the woods being on fire, and burning with great fury round their encampment till one o'clock in the morning. Some died by the way, in consequence of these various hardships. Having, after many toilsome wanderings, reached the Susquehannah, they got a few boats, some sailing up the river and others travelling along its banks, and arrived at *Mackwihilusing* on the 9th of May, after a journey of five weeks.

Having fixed on a convenient spot for a settlement, they immediately began to erect a town, which, when completed, consisted of thirteen Indian huts, and upwards of forty houses, built of wood in the European manner, besides a dwelling for the missionaries. In the middle of the street, which was eighty feet broad, stood a large and neat chapel. The adjoining ground was laid out in gardens, and between the town and the river, about two hundred and fifty acres were divided into regular plantations of Indian corn. The burying-ground was situated at some distance at the back of the buildings. Each family had their own boat. To this place they gave the name of FRIEDENSHUETTEN.

This new settlement soon assumed a very flourishing appearance. The inhabitants were industrious, and dwelt together as brethren, in peace and unity. Many Indians

visited the place, admired the fine situation and the good order maintained in the town. But, what afforded the missionaries the greatest delight, was the salutary impression which appeared to be made on some, so that the number of the congregation was rapidly increasing, which in less than two years rendered the erection of a larger chapel necessary. Indeed the change observable in the believing Indians was so striking, that the heathen visitors were not unfrequently constrained to confess; "that the words of the brethren must be true, for otherwise it would be impossible that the mere belief of them, should make their converts willing to deny the world and every ungodly lust, and at the same time be so serene and cheerful in their looks and behaviour."

This pleasing and tranquil course was occasionally interrupted by the unbecoming behaviour of some of the heathen visitors, and still more by the white traders, who chiefly dealt in rum, and often came to the settlement for the purpose of traffic, occasioning much levity and dissipation among the young people. Our missionaries, not wishing to have the appearance of usurping any jurisdiction over the Indians, left it to the native assistants and heads of families, to whom the police of the town was committed, to adopt such measures, as might prevent this evil in future. And their exertions in this respect succeeded in a great measure.

In autumn 1767, the missionary Zeisberger and two of the Indian assistants made a journey to the Ohio, intelligence having been received, that some Indians in that part of the country were desirous of hearing the gospel. Their intention was first to visit *Goessewink*, though they every where received the most unfavourable accounts of its inhabitants. On this journey they had to encounter many difficulties, having to travel through an extensive wilderness.

Their road lay partly through the territory of the Delawares, and partly through that of the Senneka Indians. On reaching the first town, inhabited by the latter, the appearance of a white man was so unusual a sight, that

one of the inhabitants immediately rode off to announce his arrival to the Chief of the next town, a distance of nearly thirty miles. Having arrived at this place, the Chief at first treated Zeisberger rather roughly, taking him for a spy, but won by his conciliatory and affable manner and the disinterestedness of his views, he became very friendly, conducting him to his house. Zeisberger seized this favourable opportunity to preach the gospel to him; but the Chief declared with great warmth, that this word of God was not intended for the Indians. He however granted them permission to proceed to *Goshgoshuenk*; adding a serious caution against trusting the people of that place, who had not their equals in wickedness and cruelty.

Not intimidated by this and similar reports, but rather considering the profligacy of the place, the most cogent reason for visiting it, they prosecuted their route and safely reached it. They soon found, that the reports they had heard were but too true. Zeisberger remarks, he had no where seen the abominations of heathenism practised in such a horrid and shameless manner as in this place; it seemed to be the very seat of Satan. Notwithstanding the crying wickedness of the inhabitants, the brethren were well received, and their doctrine, by its novelty, so engaged the attention of the inhabitants, that they could not hear enough of it, and requested the Indian brethren to repeat and explain it to them more fully. Before their departure, the Indians assembled a council, and Zeisberger asked them, whether they would permit a teacher to reside among them? To this they gave their unanimous consent, and even requested him to promote the attainment of so desirable an object.

His journey proving thus far encouraging, the brethren resolved to attempt the establishment of a regular mission in *Goshgoshuenk*. In order to effect this, the brethren Zeisberger and Sensenian, together with some Indian families, moved thither the following spring. Immediately on their arrival, Zeisberger sent information of it to the Chiefs, who exhorted their people to listen with attention to the word of God. He preached every day,

and held regular morning-and evening-devotions. These meetings were attended by great numbers, whose behaviour was silent and decorous, and manifested an eagerness to hear.

Soon, however, a violent opposition, originating in the jealousy of the Chiefs, was raised against the missionaries. It was augmented by the most ridiculous and unfounded accusations being propagated against the brethren; and it at last rose to such a pitch, that they threatened to kill both them and their converts. This intimidated even those who had hitherto been their friends.

Notwithstanding these alarming appearances, our brethren resolved not to quit their post; but built a small winter-house, as a place of retirement, where they might celebrate the Lord's Supper and keep other meetings with the christian Indians, their present habitation being seldom free from visitors. Their labour was not wholly in vain. Not a few attended their meetings, and some heard the gospel with saving effect. Several indeed came only by night, fearing the reproach of men; for those, who went boldly to the meetings, were abused and persecuted in various ways; and in some instances the words of our Saviour were literally fulfilled: *a man's foes shall be they of his own household.* Matt. x. 36. At length, the inhabitants of the town were divided into two parties; one of which opposed the gospel with all their might, and the other became so much attached to it, that they declared, they would rather emigrate, than be deprived of it. These dismissed their fears and went boldly and diligently to the meetings, although it exposed them to the hatred of the opposite party, who branded them with the names of *Sunday Indians*, and *Shwonnaks*, i. e. white people, the latter being the most opprobrious epithet they could apply.

However, as the opposition did not abate but rather increased, our missionaries thought it prudent to retire to a place on the opposite bank of the river, called *Lamm-akhannek*, about fifteen miles distant from *Goshgoshuent*. Here they formed a temporary settlement, being followed

by all those Indians, who had sincerely embraced the gospel. In process of time they had the pleasure of admitting several to holy baptism, among whom was an aged Chief, who had lost his sight. By degrees the hostility against them subsided, and in a council held at *Goshgoshuenk* a great majority declared in favour of the gospel. This rendered their situation more tranquil and easy, a different spirit prevailed, and the desire of the Indians to "know the grace of God in truth" increased.

Among the places, which were visited by the missionaries from FRIEDENSHUETTEN, was a town about thirty miles higher up on the banks of the Susquehannah, called *Tshechshequannink*, in which a great awakening took place, occasioned by the relations of those who had visited FRIEDENSHUETTEN. At the request of the inhabitants, the missionary Rothe went to reside among them. His testimony of Jesus was accompanied with great power, the audience being frequently melted into tears, which is very unusual among the Indians, as they consider it unmanly to shed tears. One of them remarked: "I would not have wept, if my enemies had cut the flesh from my bones: that I now weep is of God, who has softened the hardness of my heart." For some time it appeared as if the whole town would turn to the Lord and be converted.

The tranquillity, enjoyed for a season by our brethren, was again interrupted in 1770. The Senneka Indians having broken the treaty, but lately made with the Cherokees, hostilities commenced in the neighbourhood of Lawunakhannak. This rendered the christian Indians desirous of removing, and they therefore resolved to accept the kind offer, repeatedly made them by some Chiefs, to settle near the Delaware town of Kaskaskunk.

In April the missionaries and their whole flock embarked in sixteen canoes, passing down the river Ohio by Pittsburg to the mouth of the Beaver Creek, which they entered, proceeding up the falls, where they had several times to unload, and transport their goods and canoes by land. One of these carrying places detained them two

days. After a tedious and troublesome journey of a fortnight, they reached the place allotted to them by the Chiefs. No spot could have been better chosen, as there was good land, sufficient to support a hundred families. They immediately began to build and plant, and called the place FRIEDENSTADT.

The Indians in the neighbourhood were astonished to see a people settle among them, differing so much in their manners and customs from the other natives, and to hear them propagate a doctrine so contrary to any thing they had ever heard before. In some this astonishment soon changed into animosity and opposition, especially when the Chief of Kaskaskunk moved to the settlement. This so enraged the adversaries, that they annoyed the brethren in every possible way, disseminating unfounded calumnies. They even forged messages in the names of the Chiefs, ordering them to quit the country. These impostures being detected, some of their own teachers violently opposed the doctrine taught by the missionaries, asserting, that emetics were the only infallible remedy to cleanse a man from sin. The missionary endeavoured to convince them, that though an emetic might benefit their stomachs, it could never cleanse their hearts. Some malicious savages came late one evening to FRIEDENSTADT, tempting the inhabitants to get drunk. Finding all their efforts ineffectual, they threatened to murder first the missionaries and then the whole congregation, and made such a hideous noise, that the women fled into the woods, and the men were forced to keep strict watch round the mission-house.

While harassed by these external troubles, our brethren had abundant cause to praise God for the divine power which rested on their ministry in the gospel. The number of hearers at FRIEDENSTADT rapidly increased. Among these was a man, belonging to the party, who had destroyed the mission-house on the Mahony in 1755, and who was often so much impressed by what he had heard, that he shed floods of tears. In another of their hearers the effect produced by the word, was still more striking. This was the chief, Pakanke, hitherto an enemy and op-

poser, but whose sentiments, during a visit in FRIEDENSTADT, were so completely changed, that he listened to the gospel with great attention; which produced such a change in him, that he became a believer himself, and even exhorted his children to go to the brethren, and believe in the Lord Jesus. Among the baptized members of the congregation, the peace of God, brotherly love and a real desire to love the Saviour and cleave to him with purpose of heart, prevailed. Their walk and conversation became more and more conformable to their christian profession, and they greatly valued their high and heavenly calling. In the children likewise the missionaries observed many astonishing evidences of the work of the holy Spirit, in "perfecting praise out of the mouths of babes and sucklings." And the awakening among the catechumens was general and solid, manifesting a sincere desire to obtain grace and the remission of sins in the blood of Christ.

In the mean time they received certain information, that the Iroquois had clandestinely sold the land, on which FRIEDENSHUETTEN stood, to the English, though they had formally ceded it to the christian Indians in 1765. This involved that settlement in new troubles. They therefore resolved to quit that place, and seek another residence.

Early in June 1772 the whole congregation, consisting of two hundred and forty-one persons, left FRIEDENSHUETTEN; some of them travelling by land, but the greater part by water. The difficulties attending the emigration of so many people, with all their goods and cattle, in a country like America, is almost incredible. The party, who went by land, had to care for seventy oxen and a still greater number of horses, and sustained inconceivable hardships in forcing their way through very thick woods and swamps, directed only by a small path, in some places hardly discernible. They had to ford many rivers, being in one part of the country obliged to wade thirty-six times through the windings of the Munsy. The difficulties of those who went by water were not less. They were every night obliged to seek a lodging on shore. In some places they were molested by inquisitive, and in

others by drunken people. The many falls and dangerous rapids in the Susquehannah occasioned much trouble and frequent delays. To add to their difficulties, the measles broke out among them soon after their departure, of which many, especially children, fell sick, and some died. Both companies having at length met, they pursued their journey by land. Arrived on the banks of the Ohio, they built canoes, for conveying the aged and infirm with the baggage down the river; and in a few days the whole party reached FRIEDENSTADT, and were most cordially welcomed by the christian Indians there, who united with them in solemn praises to God for their safe arrival, after a tedious journey of eight weeks.

It was not, however, the design of the Indians to take up their residence here, but to proceed to the banks of the Muskingum, and occupy a piece of ground, which had been allotted to them by the council of the Delawares, who had entered into a formal resolution, that this tract of land, which was of considerable extent, should exclusively belong to the christian Indians, and no others be permitted to settle upon it; and that all Indians dwelling on its borders, should be directed to behave peaceably towards the missionaries and their converts, and neither disturb their worship nor prevent any from attending the preaching of the gospel. Zeisberger had visited this place early in spring, and found it in all respects an eligible situation for an Indian town, having an excellent spring, a small lake, a fine soil, plenty of game and every other convenience. It lies about seventy-five miles west of FRIEDENSTADT, and nearly at the same distance south of lake Erie.

Five families of christian Indians had, in May, removed to this place and begun the erection of a settlement, giving it the name of SCHÖENBRUNN, and were now joined by those who had emigrated from FRIEDENSHUETTEN.

About this period the prospect at FRIEDENSTADT became more and more alarming. The repeated encroachments of the savages occasioned much perplexity, and the pernicious consequences of the rum-trade, became at length

insupportable. The savages frequently brought a quantity of spirits close to the town, got intoxicated and behaved like madmen, committing various acts of mischief and outrage, even threatening to kill the missionary. It was solely owing to the restraining hand of Providence, that they did not execute their barbarous purpose. At one time a ruffian furiously rushed into the house where the missionary lay sick, but on seeing the fellow come in, he raised himself and looked at him with undaunted composure. This completely disconcerted the savage, he stopped short, and the Indian brethren, hastening to the assistance of their teacher, easily secured him. These unpleasant occurrences seeming to admit of no alleviation, the inhabitants resolved, though much against their inclination, to forsake the place, and move into the neighbourhood of their brethren on the Muskingum, where they arrived after a journey of three weeks. Here they established a colony, about ten miles below SCHOENBRUNN, which they called GNADENHUETTEN.

During the building of these two settlements, Zeisberger, accompanied by two Indian brethren, made a journey into the country of the Shawanose, who were generally considered the most savage of all the Indian tribes. Our travellers, however, were kindly received by the Chief, and lodged in the house of one of the heathen teachers. This man, being informed by the missionary of the object of their journey, namely to preach the words of eternal life, replied: "This is what we want, and we will hear you with pleasure." Having for several days attentively listened to the discourses and conversation of the missionary and his companions, the heathen teacher made the following remarkable declaration: "I have not been able to sleep all night, for I am continually meditating upon your words, and will now open to you my whole heart: I believe that all you preach is truth. A year ago I became convinced, that we are altogether sinful creatures; and that none of our good works will save us: but we did not know what to do to gain eternal salvation. I have, therefore, always comforted my people, that somebody would come and show us the true way to happiness, for we are not in the right way; and even the day before

your arrival, I desired them to have but a little patience, and a teacher would certainly come. Now you are come and I verily believe that God hath sent you, to make his word known to us." The Council having formally declared their wish, that the brethren would come and reside among them, our travellers returned to SCHOENBRUNN, filled with gratitude to God for this hopeful prospect. The more poignant was their sorrow, when, on repeating their visit the next year, they met with so much opposition and hostility, as fully convinced them, that as yet no missionary establishment could be formed here.

About this time new troubles interrupted the tranquillity of the congregations at SCHOENBRUNN and GNADENHUETTEN. Besides the continuance of petty wars among the Indian tribes, the white settlers in Virginia were obliged to fly to arms, to defend themselves against the savages. This rendered the year 1774 a period of great perplexity and confusion to our two settlements, so that for many months they had hardly a single day of rest. Numerous troops of warriors passed through, some upon murdering expeditions, others with scalps and prisoners, uttering frequent menaces that both places should be surprised and laid waste. Owing to their enmity against the white people, our missionaries in particular were in the most imminent danger. One terrifying report after the other was flying through the country; in consequence of which canoes were always kept in readiness, to serve in any case of emergency, being frequently so much alarmed in the night, that all were on the point of taking flight. The women were more than once driven from their plantations at noon-day; and all the inhabitants were, for days and weeks, confined to their houses, several parties strolling about the neighbourhood, with a view to seize stragglers. At length the Indians were compelled to submit and make peace, and thus tranquillity was restored.

Our missionaries found great reason to rejoice, that amidst all these troubles, the two congregations continued to flourish. They had not once been obliged to omit the stated preaching of the gospel, and the number of their hearers was often so large, that the chapel at SCHOEN-

BRUNN, though capable of accommodating five hundred, proved too small. Among the strangers, who attended, there were many warriors, and the impression made on some was such, that, though they returned home for a time, they could not rest till they obtained leave to reside with the christian Indians. Even one of the heathen teachers was so struck with conviction of the truth of the gospel, that he took up his abode in the settlement. One of the Chiefs likewise embraced christianity, was baptized, and became a zealous witness of the doctrines of grace among the very people, whose Chief he had been. And the Indian appointed his successor in that office, declined the offer, choosing rather to be an humble follower of Christ, than to occupy the highest and most honourable rank among his countrymen.

During the war, there was a striking contrast between the conduct of the christian Indians and the savages. The former, though exposed to many interruptions, continued to plant their fields, boil sugar and follow their various avocations with their usual diligence; while the latter neglected every thing. God blessed the labour of their hands, so that they could assist those that were needy, and even provide many of the warriors, who marched through, with food and other necessities. This led a captain to remark: "I have found your people very different from what I had heard. It was reported in our town, that when a strange Indian arrives with you, he is sent to make his fire in the wood, and gets nothing to eat. I now hear the contrary from all who have visited you, for they have all been lodged and fed. In other places they make wry faces at us, here men, women, and even children bid us welcome."

By this time, the christian Indians had in a very great degree gained the confidence and esteem of their pagan neighbours; so that even some of the Captains and Chiefs interested themselves in their behalf, demanding that they should enjoy perfect liberty of conscience, and be protected in their possessions against every intruder. This was formally ratified by an act of the council in the name of the whole Delaware nation; in which they gave full

permission to any of their people, who were so disposed, to go and hear the gospel. This act was shortly after renewed and accompanied with an urgent request on their part, that the brethren would form a third settlement.

This proposal was readily agreed to, and they fixed on a spot on the east side of the Muskingum to which they gave the name of LICHTENAU. In April 1776 the missionaries Zeisberger and Heckewaelder, with eight families of christian Indians from SCHOENBRUNN, moved to this new settlement. It soon increased in number and extent, by the accession of many heathen, who became obedient to the gospel. The number of inhabitants in the three settlements on the Muskingum amounted now to four hundred and fourteen persons, and as they lay at no great distance from each other, a pleasing intercourse was constantly kept up between them, which contributed not a little to the encouragement of the missionaries, and the edification of their converts.

This prosperity of the mission received a sudden check, in consequence of the rupture between Great Britain and her colonies. By this time the contest had risen so high, that the disturbances it occasioned, reached to the Ohio and the Muskingum. Our brethren indeed determined to take no part in the war, yet they were placed in the most critical situation, as their very neutrality would serve to render them suspicious in the eyes of each of the belligerent powers, and throw a general odium upon their character and conduct.

During the consecutive commotions the Chiefs of the Delawares firmly adhered to their resolution not to interfere with the war. But a tribe of that nation, the Monsys, secretly separated from the main body and formed an alliance with the Mingoes, a set of idle thieves and murderers. They endeavoured to gain a party among the enemies of the mission, and even ventured into the settlement in order to decoy some of the inhabitants to join them, in which they were but too successful. They found a party of apostates, who seemed intent upon overthrowing christianity and replacing paganism on the

throne. This was the severest stroke our missionaries had yet met with, and occasioned them far more poignant grief, than all their former sufferings. They spared no pains, which love could dictate, to recover these poor backsliders from this snare of the devil; but all in vain. It afterwards appeared, that the Monsys and the apostate party had nothing less in view, than either to murder the missionaries, or convey them to Fort Detroit; the firmness of the Delawares in maintaining peace being ascribed to the influence of our brethren on their council. And when this attempt did not succeed, they spread the false, though probable report, that the missionaries and their congregations were daily in danger of being surprised and murdered by the Huron warriors.

Rather, therefore, than enter into a dispute with so dangerous an enemy, they resolved to abandon SCHOENBRUNN, and move to LICHTENAU. They now found the contiguity of this settlement to the Indian town of Goshachguenk of essential advantage, as they could not have defended themselves against the insults of the warriors, had they not met with constant support from the Chiefs and council of that place. A part of the fugitive congregation settled at GNADENHUETTEN.

In August 1777 intelligence reached LICHTENAU, that two hundred Huron warriors, headed by one of their Chiefs, called by way of distinction the Half-king, were on their march to that place. This caused considerable alarm; but after mature consideration our brethren resolved, to betray no symptoms of fear, but rather seek to conciliate their favour by kind treatment. No time was lost to prepare provisions for them; and the liberality of the christian Indians, on this occasion, was the more remarkable, as they considered it the only means of saving the lives of their beloved teachers. The warriors expressed no little surprise and pleasure on being met by a party from LICHTENAU, bringing provisions for them. This put them into very good humour; and the christian Indians did not neglect to improve this favourable opportunity; but sent a formal embassy to the half-king and the other Chiefs of the Hurons, informing them that they

had embraced christianity, and now wished to live in peace with all men; and therefore requested protection and safety for themselves and their teachers. This message was well received by the half-king, and he exhorted the christian Indians to obey their teachers, attend to their worship, and not to mind other affairs; promising that no one should molest or hurt them.

While these negotiations were pending, our brethren at LICHTENAU were not without serious apprehensions, being uncertain what turn affairs would take. The deputies had, therefore, agreed, that should the half-king speak in an angry tone, they would immediately despatch a messenger to the settlement, thereby affording time to the congregation to take flight before he had concluded his speech. The greater, consequently, was their joy, when the embassy terminated so favourably.

The same day the half-king, attended by the chief captain and eighty-two warriors visited LICHTENAU. They were so amply supplied with provisions, that they were able to carry a considerable quantity home with them. Similar visits were repeated in the sequel: and sometimes more than two hundred warriors of different nations took up their night-quarters close to the settlement, and behaved so quietly, that their presence was hardly perceived. For the half-king maintained strict order, and took every precaution to prevent drunkenness, being well aware that this would terminate in bloodshed and murder. He was so pleased with the reception he and his retinue had met with, that he took our missionaries by the hand and called them *father*, desiring that they would consider him and his people as *children*. He even sent messengers to the English government in Detroit and to the Chiefs in the Huron country, informing them of the alliance made with the christian Indians, adding, that he and his warriors had acknowledged the white brethren to be their father, and would ever own them as such. The maintenance of so many warriors, however, was attended with considerable expense and trouble; our brethren therefore were glad, when towards the end of August they finally removed from that part of the country.

The situation of LICHTENAU and GNADENHUETTEN now became every day more dangerous. It was therefore deemed expedient to lessen the number of missionaries, leaving only one in each of the settlements. As the distance between the two places was only twenty miles, they kept up, as far as possible, a regular intercourse, and in travelling through the country found the friendship made with the Hurons of great advantage. Yet they saw little before them but perplexity and distress. Various terrifying reports were in circulation, which rendered it necessary for the two congregations to hold themselves in constant readiness for a precipitate flight. Canoes were provided and a place of rendezvous appointed; and one night they actually fled, in consequence of a report, that the enemy was approaching. Fortunately this proved a false alarm; and after spending a day together in the place of rendezvous, the two congregations could return in peace to their respective dwellings.

Every part of the country now exhibited scenes of the most dreadful cruelty. The Hurons, who were in league with the English, committed the most horrid murders and ravages on the white people and their plantations, and the Americans treated the Indians with little less ferocity. It was a melancholy spectacle to see the savages drag men, women and children, whom they had made prisoners, and many of whom were severely wounded, and carry dead bodies and scalps as trophies of victory, through the settlements. The christian Indians showed the prisoners all the compassion and attention in their power, and would never suffer them to be scourged, or otherwise abused, while in the place, as is the custom in other Indian towns. Among the prisoners, a venerable old man, and two youths, more particularly excited their pity. When the warriors arrived with them in their own town, the two youths were tortured and burned to death. The old man was condemned to suffer the same punishment, but receiving timely information, he effected his escape. Some of the christian Indians found him in the woods, almost dead, as for fourteen days he had had nothing to eat except grass. They brought him to LICHTENAU, where he was well cared for, and after regaining

his strength, sent to Pittsburg. The government in that place acknowledged the conduct of the Indian congregation to have been of real benefit to the whole country, and that the fury of the warriors had been very considerably mitigated by the example and influence of their christian countrymen.

Hitherto the Delawares had firmly adhered to their resolution to take no part in the war; at length, however, they were induced to join the English against the Americans. Their friendship for the missionaries and the christian Indians was now changed into enmity, considering them, on account of their peaceable disposition, as a check on their conduct. The council unanimously resolved, that the hatchet should fall on the head of every one who refused to accept it; and as the Indians in league with the Americans formed a similar resolution, our congregations were placed between two cruel enemies, and saw nothing before them but inevitable ruin. The missionaries, in particular, were exposed to the most imminent danger, as it was ascribed to their authority and influence, that the young men in our settlements had declined the challenge, repeatedly sent them by the Delaware Chiefs, to take up arms. The savages, therefore, reiterated their threats, that the missionaries should be either killed or made prisoners, flattering themselves, that if *they* were removed, the christian Indians would soon be forced to comply.

But God knew how to preserve his servants; and his guardian care over them was often displayed in a most striking manner. Repeated attempts to carry them prisoners to Fort Detroit were frustrated. At one time brother Shebosh got between two parties, who were in pursuit of each other, and did not know his danger till after his escape. The preservation experienced by Zeisberger was still more singular. Being on a journey, with two Indian brethren, he was met by a white man, who headed a murderous party of eight Mingoes and a prisoner. As soon as he observed the missionary, he called out to his party: "Here is the man we have long wished to secure; do now as you think proper." The Mingo captain shook

his head, and after asking a few questions, walked off. The English indeed acknowledged, that the missionaries had done no harm, but were even useful in civilizing the Indians; yet they wished to carry them away prisoners, being persuaded, that if *they* were removed, not only the Delawares but many other tribes would join the army.

It has already been mentioned, that SCHOENBRUNN was forsaken by the faithful part of the congregation, almost at the very beginning of these troubles; and as they were now chiefly felt at GNADENHUETTEN, it was deemed expedient to remove that congregation also, and to concentrate the whole mission at LICHTENAU. This was effected in April 1778; and in order to make room for this increase of inhabitants, several new houses were built, and the chapel was enlarged. In the sequel, however, it appeared, that this settlement was too much crowded. A resolution was therefore taken in 1779, to rebuild SCHOENBRUNN, though not on the same spot, but on the opposite bank of the Muskingum. And as LICHTENAU, which had hitherto been the safest place, now became more and more exposed to the outrages of the heathen, our brethren deemed it necessary to quit this place also, and to erect a new settlement in 1780, at a distance of about twenty miles, which they called SALEM.

Amidst all the disturbances, occasioned by the daily marches of warriors through the settlements, the christian Indians did not lose their courage; and these very troubles led them to cleave more steadfastly to the Lord and seek help from *him*. The grace of God was sensibly felt in all their meetings, and the preaching of the gospel attended by great numbers of heathen Indians; and the emotion was frequently so general, that the preacher had to stop in his discourse, as the loud weeping of his audience overpowered his voice. Many were baptized, and some, who had been baptized in other communities, were received as members of the brethren's church. The assistants were peculiarly zealous and successful in bearing testimony of the truth to their countrymen. For this purpose they made frequent visits to the neighbouring towns. A great awakening likewise took place among the young, as yet

unbaptized children, who with tears begged for admission to this holy rite. Such was the powerful influence of the gospel in the congregation, that they not only loved each other with a pure heart fervently, but extended their charity to their worst enemies, constantly praying for them, and doing them every kind service in their power. The apostate part of the congregation, who left SCHÖNBRUNN, was more particularly the object of their prayers. They were graciously answered; for most of these poor, deluded people returned, like the prodigal son, earnestly begging for pardon and re-admission: This was granted in presence of the whole congregation, whose tears of compassion and joy, on these occasions, realized the words of Christ: *Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you; and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you.* Matt. v. 44.

By these means the new settlement in SALEM soon began to flourish; and notwithstanding the pressure of the times, the bounty of God so richly provided the inhabitants with food and raiment, that they could supply the wants of many of their starving and suffering countrymen.

Our Indian congregations now enjoyed a season of rest, seldom witnessing any thing of the war, except that troops sometimes marched through the settlements. But this happy tranquillity terminated in less than a year, and new scenes of unprecedented distress commenced. The English governor at Fort Detroit, influenced by the calumnies of the adversaries, began to entertain a suspicion, that the christian Indians were partisans with the Americans, and that the missionaries acted as spies. In order to rid himself of such troublesome and dangerous neighbours, he sent a message to the Iroquois and several other tribes, to take up the Indian congregations and their teachers and carry them away. But these tribes declined acceding to the proposal. A similar message was then sent to the half-king of the Hurons. This man, instigated by the Delaware captain, Pipe, a sworn enemy to the mission, at length agreed to commit this act of injustice; declar-

ing at the same time, that he only did it with a view to save the christian Indians, whom he had formerly treated with every mark of friendship.

In August 1781 a troop of warriors, amounting to upwards of three hundred, commanded by the half-king, the Delaware captain, Pipe, and an English captain, made their appearance, and fixed upon GNADENHUETTEN, as the most convenient place for holding a consultation with the christian Indians. At this meeting the half-king, and his retinue, put on the mask of friendship, and proposed their removal as a measure dictated by regard for their safety. This proposal the christian Indians declined, promising, however, to consider their words and return an answer the next winter.

The half-king would probably have been satisfied with this answer, had not the English officer and captain Pipe urged him to persevere. The consequence was, that the hostile party became more peremptory in their demands, insisting on the removal of the congregation. Their vengeance was particularly directed against the missionaries, and they held frequent consultations, in which they resolved to murder all our white brethren and sisters, and even their Indian assistants. But before they executed their bloody purpose, they inquired the opinion of a common warrior, who was held in great esteem as a sorcerer. He was decidedly against the measure, and said: "You have resolved to kill my dearest friends; for most of their chief people are my friends. But this I tell you, that if you hurt any of them, I know what I will do." This threat so terrified them, that they relinquished their design.

Meanwhile the savages became more daring and riotous. Though they were supplied with every thing they wanted by the christian Indians, they wantonly shot their cattle and pigs. Small parties made inroads into the adjacent country and brought their prisoners to GNADENHUETTEN; thus turning it into a theatre of war and pillage.

At length, the half-king summoned all the missionaries,

and their Indian assistants, from the three settlements before a council of war, asking them, what they intended to do? As they appealed to the answer already given, the assembly broke up without further debate. A Delaware captain then stepped up to brother Zeisberger, telling him, that being adopted one of the Delaware nation, the warriors were willing to protect *him*. But as this protection extended only to himself, and not to his fellow-labourers, he nobly declined it. Upon this he and the two other missionaries were immediately seized and declared prisoners of war. As they were dragged into the camp a Huron Indian aimed a push at brother Seneñman's head with a kind of lance, but fortunately missed his aim. A Monsy then stepped forward, seized them by the hair, and shaking them, tauntingly exclaimed: "Welcome among us, my friends!"

Upon this they were led into the camp of the Delawares, who sang the death-song, stripped them of all their clothes except their shirts, and led them into the tent of the English officer, who, seeing their pitiable condition, declared that this treatment was contrary to his intentions, though the governor of Detroit had given positive orders to secure them. Having received a few rags to cover them, they were confined in two huts, belonging to the camp of the Hurons, and joined by the missionary Edwards, who, though he might have escaped, preferred sharing the fate of his brethren. However, they were not bound like other prisoners; but a strict watch was set over them. Here they were obliged to sit on the bare ground, and suffered severely from the cold, having scarce any covering.

Soon after their confinement, they saw a number of armed warriors march off for SALEM and SCHOENBRUNN. The apprehension of what their families might suffer, was far more distressing to them, than all the indignities offered to their own persons. When the savages arrived at the settlements, they plundered the mission-houses and chapels, wantonly destroying the furniture, and took the remaining missionaries, and their wives and children prisoners, singing the death-song, as they led them away.

None was more to be pitied than sister Senseman. She had been delivered of a child only three days ago, and now she was hurried away, by these merciless barbarians, in a dark and rainy night. By the mercy of God, however, neither she nor her infant received the least injury. It was indeed a providential circumstance, that she was able to walk, otherwise the savages, according to their usual practice, would instantly have murdered both mother and child. Early in the morning of September 4th this company arrived at GNADENHUETTEN. The feelings of the brethren Senseman and Zeisberger on seeing their wives brought prisoners into the camp, where they were confined themselves, may more easily be conceived than described. Thus six missionaries, three of their wives and two children were at once dragged away from their pleasant and peaceful habitations, exposed to all the horrors of captivity in a camp of Indian warriors, and in constant dread, lest these savages should gratify their thirst for blood, by torturing and murdering them.

But that God, who rescued Peter and Paul and Silas from the hands of their persecutors, preserved also the lives of these his devoted servants, and sent them deliverance. The very next day the prisoners obtained permission to see and speak with each other. The scene now exhibited was so affecting, that it struck the very savages with remorse and astonishment. The sisters, who showed wonderful composure and resignation, were soon set at liberty, together with the missionary Jungman. The mission-house being nearly destroyed, they went to the house of brother Shebosh, who had not been taken prisoner, being considered a native, as he had completely adopted the Indian manner of living, and married one of their countrywomen. Mutual visits were now allowed to those who had been liberated, and their friends who were still in confinement.

At the beginning of these troubles the behaviour of the christian Indians nearly resembled the conduct of the disciples of Jesus, when he was betrayed: they forsook their teachers and fled. However, when they met together in the woods, they wept so loud, that the air resounded with

their lamentations ; and soon recovering from their panic, they returned ; and having retaken, or bought several articles, stolen by the savages, restored them to the owners. Late in the evening they carried blankets to the missionaries, who were still in prison, and fetched them away early in the morning, lest the savages should steal them in the course of the day.

After the lapse of four days, during which our five imprisoned missionaries had experienced all the horrors of being at the mercy of a set of robbers and murderers, the Indian assistants took courage and applied to the half-king and the other captains, for the liberation of their teachers. The savages, being by this time convinced that the christian Indians would never remove from the settlements, unless they were conducted by the missionaries, summoned them before the council, set them at liberty and advised them to encourage their converts to emigrate.

Filled with thanks and praises to God, they now returned to their beloved people, and having directed them all to meet at SALEM, they once more celebrated the Lord's Supper with them, during a remarkable perception of the presence of God and the influence of his Spirit. Here they spent some days in peace and comfort, preached the gospel with boldness, baptized one of the catechumens, and exhorted the believers to evince the sincerity of their faith, by acting with firmness and resignation, in this season of trial. The christian Indians acquiesced in the proposed measure, convinced that there was no alternative left them but to emigrate ; for about a hundred of the savages, who had constantly watched their motions, and surrounded them at a distance, now entered the settlement, and behaved like madmen, committing the most daring outrages.

But never did our brethren leave any country with greater regret. They had already lost above two hundred horned cattle, and four hundred hogs ; and now they were obliged to leave a great quantity of corn in their stores, besides three hundred acres, just ready to be reaped, together with potatoes and other vegetables and

garden fruits. According to a moderate calculation their loss was computed at two thousand pounds; no trifling sum to be the property of Indians, and which strikingly shows the tendency of true religion to promote industry and improvement. But what gave our missionaries most pain was the total loss of all their books and manuscripts, which they had translated and compiled with great labour for the instruction of the Indian youth, all of which were now burned by the savages. Add to this, they saw nothing before them, but distress, misery and danger. But there was no alternative; they could only possess their souls in patience, and go even whither they would not, relying on the help of God.

They were escorted by a troop of savages, commanded by English officers, who inclosed them on all sides, at the distance, of some miles. In a few days the half-king of the Hurons and his warriors overtook them, and proceeded along with the rest. One party went by water, and another by land. By the sinking of some of the canoes, those who were in them lost all their property, but fortunately saved their lives. Those, who went by land, drove the cattle. The journey was exceedingly tedious and troublesome, and for the greater part of the way lay through a swamp. The savages frequently drove them forward like a herd of cattle. The missionaries and their wives usually travelled in the middle, surrounded by the christian Indians. But one morning, when the latter could not set out as expeditiously as their conductors wanted, they forced the missionaries away alone, whipped their horses till they became unmanageable, and would not even allow time to the mothers to suckle their infants. The christian Indians followed as fast as possible, but with all their exertions, did not come up with them till night; and thus it was morning before they were rescued from the hands of the savages. Notwithstanding these and many other difficulties, they pursued their journey with the utmost patience. Not one left the congregation, not one laid the blame on others; no dissatisfaction or dissension arose among them, but they were united in the spirit of true brotherly love, rejoicing in God their Saviour; and even held their daily meetings.

After a journey of about four weeks they arrived at SANDUSKY Creek, about one hundred and twenty-five miles distant from the settlements on the Muskingum. Here the half-king and his warriors left them, marching into their own country, without giving them any further directions. Thus abandoned in a country, where there was neither game nor any other kind of provisions, though it had been represented to them by these barbarians as a perfect paradise, they roved to and fro for sometime, and at last resolved to spend the winter in UPPER SANDUSKY. Having pitched upon the best spot they could find in this dreary wilderness, they erected small huts of logs and bark, to shelter themselves from the wet and cold, as their savage conductors had stolen all their blankets and other articles, only leaving them the needful utensils for making maple sugar. Their want of provisions at length became so great, that the missionary Shebosh and some Indian brethren returned to the forsaken settlements on the Muskingum, to fetch the Indian corn, which had been left standing in the fields. This was a hazardous enterprise. Shebosh and five of the Indians were actually taken prisoners and carried to Pittsburg; but the rest returned safe to SANDUSKY, with four hundred bushels of corn. Though many heathen visited this neighbourhood, they shewed no disposition to hear the gospel, but rather scoffed at it. Captain Pipe boasted, that he had taken the brethren prisoners, and considered them now as his slaves. The half-king informed them, that being now under his dominion, they were bound to obey all his mandates, and even to go to war at his command. The less prospect there appeared, under these circumstances, of being instrumental in the conversion of the heathen, the more joy the missionaries felt at seeing several, who at the commencement of the troubles, had wandered from the congregation, return to the Shepherd and Bishop of souls, and to his persecuted flock.

Scarce had the christian Indians begun to establish themselves in SANDUSKY, when the missionaries and the chiefs of their people received an order from the governor at Fort Detroit, to repair thither. Glad of this opportunity to speak for themselves and refute the many lies

propagated respecting them, four of the missionaries, accompanied by as many of the assistants, set out for that place on the 25th of October. Some days elapsed before the investigation of the various accusations, brought against them, could take place, as their principal accuser, Captain Pipe, had not yet arrived.

Without entering into a minute detail of the trial, suffice it to say, that Pipe, after some fruitless evasions, was obliged to confess, that the brethren were innocent, and to take all the blame to himself and the Chiefs. Thus wonderfully was their bitterest enemy compelled to become their advocate and friend. After making some further inquiries, the governor declared publicly, that the brethren were innocent of all the charges brought against them, that he viewed their endeavours to civilize and christianize the Indians with great satisfaction, and would permit them to return to their congregations without delay. He then addressed the Indian assistants in a very condescending manner, admonished them to obey their teachers, and supplied them gratis with all they wanted. He offered the use of his own house to the missionaries, and as they had been plundered contrary to his express orders, he provided them with clothes and every other necessary, and even repurchased four watches of which they had been robbed when made prisoners. Thankful for the gracious interposition of God in their behalf, they arrived again at SANDUSKY on November 2nd, to the inexpressible joy of their families and the whole congregation, who had entertained serious apprehensions, that they would be kept prisoners in Detroit.

Our Indians at SANDUSKY now enjoyed a temporary rest. They erected a chapel, assembled for daily worship, and great grace prevailed among them. Some new people were baptized, and others, who had gone astray, were again restored to the fellowship of the believers. But with regard to externals their situation was distressing in the extreme. Often they knew not to-day what they should eat to-morrow, and absolute famine stared them in the face. Provisions were scarce to be bought, and only at a most exorbitant price. The unusual seve-

rity of the winter increased the distress. They had considerable herds of cattle, but there was no forage for them in this dreary region, in consequence of which numbers perished. Many of the poor lived entirely on wild potatoes; and the famine at last rose to such a pitch, that they greedily ate the carcasses of horses and cows, that were starved to death.

Compelled by the horrors of famine, several parties returned to the forsaken settlements on the Muskingum, where the corn was still standing unreaped in the fields, and was even then better in quality, than what was offered for sale, at an enormous price, in SANDUSKY. A report likewise prevailed, that the danger in those parts had ceased; but in crediting this, they found themselves most fatally deceived. A scene of treachery and bloodshed was exhibited in this very quarter, to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in the history of the greatest barbarians of any age or nation.

About this time the governor of Pittsburg released those christian Indians who together with the missionary Shebosh had been taken prisoners by the Americans. This act of common justice so incensed those white people, who represented the Indians as a set of Canaanites, that ought to be extirpated from the face of the earth.* Having heard that parties of christian Indians from SANDUSKY came occasionally to the Muskingum, to fetch provisions, about one hundred and sixty of these ruffians formed a plot to surprise them, destroy the settlements, and then proceed to SANDUSKY and murder the rest of the congregation. As soon as Colonel Gibson at Pittsburg received intelligence of this infernal plot, he sent information of it to the Muskingum, to warn the Indians of their danger: but the messengers arrived too late. Our Indians indeed had received timely notice of danger from another quarter, but contrary to their usual caution and timidity, paid no regard to the information, supposing that now they had nothing to fear from the Americans.

In this instance their confidence was fatally misplaced.

* See p. 145.

Early in March 1782 the murderers approached GNADENHUETTEN. About a mile from the settlement they met young Shebosh, the son of the missionary, fired at him and wounded him so severely, that he was unable to escape. He then, according to their own account, begged for his life, representing that he was the son of a white man. Regardless of his entreaties, they cut him in pieces with their hatchets. Proceeding onward they reached the plantations, where many Indians were at work. They accosted them in friendly terms, desiring them to go home, and promising that no one should molest them. They even pretended to pity them on account of their past sufferings, and assured them of the protection and friendship of the Americans. The christian Indians, ignorant of the murder of young Shebosh, believed all they said, and treated them in the most hospitable manner. And when ordered by these murderers, not to return to SANDSUKY, but go to Pittsburg, they submitted with resignation, hoping that God, in his providence, would by this means put a stop to their sufferings. Prepossessed with this idea they cheerfully delivered their guns, hatchets and other weapons, and even shewed them where they had secreted their property in the woods.

Meanwhile John Martin, one of the Indian assistants, went to SALEM to inform the inhabitants of the arrival of the Americans, assuring them they were come as friends in order to conduct the christian Indians to a place of safety. Those at SALEM received this intelligence without regret, persuading themselves that God, by the instrumentality of the Americans, would release them from their present disagreeable situation; and fondly hoping that, being once arrived at Pittsburg, they would not find it difficult to form a settlement in some convenient spot, and procure advice and assistance from BETHLEHEM. Brother John Martin returned to GNADENHUETTEN, acquainting both the christian Indians and the Americans with their resolution. The latter having expressed a desire to see SALEM, a party of them was conducted thither, and most hospitably entertained. Here they feigned the same friendship as at GNADENHUETTEN, and even affected great

piety, entering into much religious discourse with the Indians.

Having by these hypocritical arts completely succeeded in deceiving our unsuspecting Indians, they at once threw off the mask, and displayed all the hideous deformity of their real character. They suddenly attacked the poor defenceless inhabitants of GNADENHUETTEN, seized and bound them. Those coming from SALEM shared a similar fate. Before they entered GNADENHUETTEN, they were surprised by their conductors, robbed of their guns and even of their pocket-knives, and brought bound into the settlement. The miscreants now held a council, and by a plurality of votes resolved to murder them all the next day. The few, who opposed this inhuman resolution, wrung their hands, calling God to witness that they were innocent of the blood of these harmless Indians. But the majority remained inflexible, only differing as to the mode of execution. Some proposed burning them alive; others scalping them; and the latter mode was finally fixed upon. They then despatched a messenger to the prisoners, to tell them, that as they were christians, they might prepare themselves for death in a christian manner, for they must all die on the morrow.

It may easily be conceived, that this dreadful intelligence overwhelmed the prisoners with horror. But, soon recollecting themselves, they patiently submitted to these blood-thirsty tyrants. Being allowed one night's respite, they spent it in prayer, and in exhorting one another to remain faithful unto death: and as the morning dawned they united in solemn hymns of praise, in the joyful hope, that they should soon enter into the glorious presence of their God and Saviour and join the song of the ransomed before the throne of the Lamb.

When the day of execution (March 8th) arrived, the murderers fixed upon two houses, one for the men, the other for the women and children, to which they gave the name of SLAUGHTER-HOUSES. The carnage immediately commenced, and these poor innocent people, men, women and children, being bound with ropes, two and two

together, were led into the houses, and there scalped and murdered. By this act of most wanton barbarity, ninety six persons finished their earthly existence, among whom were five valuable assistants in the mission, and thirty four children. According to the testimony of the murderers themselves, they displayed uncommon patience, and met death with cheerful resignation, assured of a glorious resurrection to life eternal.

It appears from all the circumstances attending this bloody catastrophe, that they were not murdered because they were *christians*, but merely because they were *Indians*. We cannot therefore compare them with the martyrs of the primitive church, who died for their confession of Christ; but this we may confidently affirm, that they met death, even in the most formidable shape, with all the meekness and fortitude of Christ's true disciples, and to the end of their lives bore witness to the truth and efficacy of the gospel. Their very murderers acknowledged, that they were *good Indians*, "for," said they, "they sang and prayed to their latest breath."

Only two youths escaped this dreadful massacre, and that in a manner almost miraculous. The one fortunately disengaged himself from his bonds, and unobserved crept through a narrow window into the cellar of one of the slaughter-houses. Here he soon observed the blood drop through the floor and run in streams into the cellar, which makes it probable, that the murderers not only scalped their victims, but cut them in pieces. Remaining concealed in the cellar during the night, he with much difficulty made his way out the next morning, and fled into an adjacent thicket. The escape of the other youth was equally remarkable. His murderers gave him only one blow on the head, took his scalp and then left him. In a while he recovered his senses and saw himself surrounded with bleeding corpses, among whom he observed one, called Abel, still moving and endeavouring to raise himself. But he lay quite still, as though he had been dead; and this caution proved the means of his deliverance; for one of the murderers coming in, and observing Abel move, gave him two or three blows, which killed

him. The other, though suffering excruciating pain from his wounds, remained quiet. A while after he ventured to creep towards the door, and not seeing any person near, escaped into the woods, where he concealed himself during the night. Here he met his companion, and they pursued their journey to SANDUSKY. Though they purposely took a circuitous route, on which they encountered great dangers, and suffered many hardships; yet they were graciously preserved. Before they left their place of concealment, they observed the wretches making merry, congratulating themselves on the success of their enterprize, and setting fire to the slaughter-houses.

The christian Indians at SCHOENBRUNN fortunately escaped the destruction, equally meditated against them. Having despatched a messenger, on some business to GNADENHUETTEN, he found young Shebosh lying dead and scalped, by the way, and looking forward, saw a number of Americans in and about the settlement. Alarmed at this, he returned to SCHOENBRUNN with the utmost precipitation, informing the inhabitants of what he had seen. Upon this they all fled into the woods. From their lurking-places they observed the murderers approach the town, who finding no one at home, set fire to the houses, (as they had also done at GNADENHUETTEN and SALEM;) and, taking the scalps of their innocent victims, about fifty horses, some blankets and other things with them, proceeded to Pittsburg, with a view to murder the colony of Indians, lately settled on the north side of the Ohio; which diabolical design they partially effected.

While this tragical scene was acting on the banks of the Muskingum, our missionaries in SANDUSKY were not without their troubles. Some members of the congregation had apostatized from the faith, and excited no small disturbance and uneasiness by their endeavours to seduce others, as well as by their own obstinacy, bidding defiance to all remonstrances, and treating even the kindest reproof with contempt and ridicule. But a heavier trial than this was preparing for them. The enemies of the brethren were still plotting the destruction of the mission. The governor of Detroit, unwilling to break his promise

that no one should molest them in their labours, resisted every base insinuation against them as far as lay in his power. At length, however, all his measures of firmness and prudence proved ineffectual; and he was in a manner forced, though very reluctantly, to give the half-king of the Hurons and an English officer in his company, an order to bring all the missionaries and their families to Fort Detroit; adding, however, a strict charge neither to plunder nor abuse them.

Our missionaries were panic-struck at this order: to be torn from their beloved flock was a far severer blow to them, than death itself. But no choice was allowed them, and submission to the inscrutable ways of divine Providence became their imperious duty; for the slightest remonstrance might have subjected them to ill treatment and plunder, and could not have been of the smallest service. When this order was made known to the congregation, a most affecting and overwhelming scene was exhibited. The whole assembly burst into loud lamentations and almost crushed the spirit of the missionaries, already sufficiently oppressed by their own weight of sorrow. The Indians, who are wont to endure the most cruel tortures without a tear or a groan, now wept like children bereaved of their parents, and in broken accents, as their half-stifled emotions would give them utterance, exclaimed, "We are left as sheep without a shepherd!" "Ah!" said one, "it gives me no concern, that I am poor and hungry and have lost all my substance. Gladly would I suffer all this and much more; but that our enemies are taking our teachers from us, and intend to rob our *souls* of nourishment and deprive us of salvation; this is more than I can bear. But they shall never entice me to adopt their heathenish practices, or force me to do things abominable in the sight of God my Saviour. No; I will rather run into the thickest wood, fly from all human society, and spend the remainder of my days in penury and wretchedness."

Heart-rending as this scene was to them, their sorrow had not yet reached its height. They were still ignorant of the tragical events on the Muskingum; and it was not

till the day before their departure, that they received the first appalling tidings of that bloody catastrophe, by an Indian warrior who came from those parts. And as his information was not in every respect correct, they were left to figure things to themselves even more dreadful than they were. By what they could collect from his relation, one part of the christian Indians had been murdered, and another carried prisoners to Pittsburg.

In this state of mind, overpowered with grief for the past, and agitated by fears for the future, they took leave of their congregation at SANDUSKY. Brother Zeisberger, after exhorting them, with the affection of a father, to remain faithful to Jesus unto death, and apply to Him in all their need and distress, as the only permanent source of comfort, salvation and life, kneeled down with the whole assembly, offered grateful praises to the Lord for all the spiritual blessings he had bestowed upon them in the midst of great temporal misery, and fervently commended them to the protection and preservation of the triune God.

In March 1782 they left SANDUSKY, and were accompanied a considerable part of the way by a great number of their weeping flock; and by some even as far as Lower Sandusky. Here they were detained for some time, waiting for vessels to carry them across lake Erie to Detroit. The vessels, at length, arrived with a written order to treat the missionaries with all possible kindness, and in case of stormy weather not to endanger their lives by crossing the lake. Having arrived at Detroit on the 11th of April, they were lodged in a part of the barracks, which had just been fitted up for officers' dwellings. The governor soon called to see them, assuring them, that though many new accusations had been brought against them, yet he was fully convinced of their innocence, and had not sent for them on that account, but merely for their own safety, having received the most authentic intelligence, that they were exposed to imminent danger while they remained at SANDUSKY. He also left it to their own option, whether they would remain at Detroit, or go to BETHLEHEM. With his consent they removed from the barracks to a private house, at a short distance from the town.

The Indian congregation, meanwhile, was placed in the most precarious situation. The assistants indeed continued the daily meetings, and faithfully exhorted their brethren to remain steadfast. An English trader, who visited SANDUSKY, bore a pleasing testimony to this. He related, that he heard them sing hymns and exhort each other, till they wept together like children. But, encouraging as this was, some false brethren now manifested the perfidy of their hearts. They ascribed all their misfortunes, and even the murder on the Muskingum, to the missionaries. Besides the half-king of the Hurons being incessantly tormented with the pangs of a guilty conscience, had no rest as long as any christian Indians remained in his neighbourhood. He, therefore, sent them a peremptory order to quit the country altogether. Indeed it appeared, as if no place were left, where our poor, persecuted Indians might find rest for the soles of their feet. They could expect no protection from the white people; and the heathen proscribed them as outlaws. As their dispersion seemed unavoidable, they resolved to make no resistance. One party went into the country of the Shawanose, and another settled in the vicinity of Pipestown, with a view to proceed further to the banks of the Miami. Thus a temporary stop was put to the once flourishing mission among the Indians.

The various afflictive and dreadful occurrences, just related, bore every mark of a mysterious and inscrutable Providence, impenetrable to the view of short-sighted man, and only calculated to elicit in his servants the bold effort of faith, *to hope even against hope*. By degrees, however, the dark clouds dispersed, the veil, which had concealed the secret operations of the divine hand, was at least partially withdrawn, and they were enabled to discern rays of almighty love, power and wisdom in this darkest of dispensations, constraining them gratefully to exclaim: *The Lord God Omnipotent reigneth! He will restrain the power of the enemy and the fury of the oppressor, and cause all things to work together for good to them that love Him.*

Though the removal of the christian Indians from their settlements on the Muskingum caused great distress at the

time, yet it was, in fact, a most gracious interposition of divine Providence; for had not this measure been rendered absolutely necessary, it is more than probable that the whole congregation would have been involved in the massacre at GNADENHUTTEN, but in consequence of their emigration to SANDUSKY more than two thirds escaped. Had not our missionaries received orders to repair to Detroit, they would not then have thought of sending a messenger to the Muskingum, to call the Indians away, and thus the inhabitants of SCHOENBAUNN would have shared the same fate with their murdered brethren at GNADENHUTTEN. For the arrival of the messenger from SANDUSKY at the former place required that the message he had brought should be also carried to the other settlements; and the Indian entrusted with this was the person who, as mentioned before, saw young Sheboah lying dead by the road, and spread the alarm at SCHOENBRUNN, thereby affording time to the inhabitants to save themselves by flight.

But the good resulting from the removal of the missionaries to Detroit did not terminate here. The same gang of murderers, who had committed the massacre on the Muskingum, did not abandon their bloody design against the rest of the congregation, though they deferred its execution for a while. A few weeks after the dispersion from SANDUSKY, these miscreants came thither, but finding the place deserted, their cruel purpose was providentially defeated. Soon after this disappointment divine justice overtook them, for being attacked by a party of English and Indian warriors, the greater part of them were cut to pieces. Thus the Lord *made the very wrath of men to praise him.*

We now resume the history of the mission.

Our missionaries in Detroit did not, as we have seen, avail themselves of the governor's permission to go to BETHLEHEM; a sense of duty and affection inducing them to seek the welfare of their poor, dispersed Indian flock. To promote this they resolved to build a new settlement and invite their converts to return to them. Through the interest of

the governor, who highly approved this measure, they obtained from the Chippeways a grant of land, about thirty miles north of Detroit, on the banks of the Huron. The governor continued his kind assistance in various ways; he furnished them with provisions, boats, planks and other necessary articles from the royal stores, and gave them some horses and cows; and his lady presented them with a valuable assortment of seeds and roots. He even sent a message with a string of wampom to all the dispersed christian Indians, inviting them to return to their teachers. Several families soon collected, so that in the month of July 1782 they had the pleasure of beginning the erection of the new settlement, which they called **NEW GNADENHUETTEN**.

During their residence at Detroit, they had had frequent opportunities of preaching the gospel both in the English and German languages; they were often applied to, to baptize children and bury the dead; and brother Zeisberger delivered several discourses to the prisoners, which were attended by many inhabitants of the town.

The industry of our brethren, aided by a favourable soil and other advantages, soon changed the new settlement, which before had been a perfect wilderness, into a fruitful and pleasant spot; but its colonization by the christian Indians proceeded rather slowly. The greater part of them still remained scattered among the heathen, chiefly in the country of the Twichtwees, about two hundred and fifty miles south of **NEW GNADENHUETTEN**. The missionaries omitted no opportunity of sending them verbal messages; but these were frequently perverted by the bearers from interested motives, and the adversaries endeavoured to keep alive their imaginary fears of the white people, especially of the English government. Some of the native Chiefs also terrified them, by commanding them to be resigned to their fate, and resume the manners of the heathen, adding; "that not a single word of the gospel should any more be heard in the Indian country."

Notwithstanding the wily arts of the pagans to hinder the christian Indians from returning to their teachers,

many by degrees collected together on the river Huron. The new settlement was frequently visited, both by white people and heathen, who admired the regulations and improvements of the place. The missionaries exerted their accustomed zeal in preaching the gospel and instructing their flock. A few yielded to the converting influence of the gospel and were baptized, and the internal course of the congregation was encouraging and edifying.

In May 1783, they joined their neighbours in thanksgiving to God for the restoration of peace between England and the United States of America.

The ensuing winter was marked by a very intense frost continuing late into spring. Being wholly unexpected, it occasioned great scarcity and obliged our Indians to disperse through the country. They were often reduced to extreme want, and forced to live on wild roots, till God was pleased to relieve their necessities by a large herd of deer, which strayed into the neighbourhood. During this time of scarcity they unavoidably contracted considerable debt with the traders in Detroit, but these were now so well convinced of their industry and honesty, that they gave them credit without hesitation. And as the next harvest proved very productive, they were enabled punctually to discharge all their debts.

But now new troubles arose. The Chippeways, who had given the tract of land on which NEW GNADENHUETTEN stood, claimed it back again, assigning as a reason, that by the erection of the settlement, they had lost one of their principal hunting-districts. They even threatened to murder some of them, and thus compel the rest to quit the country. As it was not likely that these complaints and vexations would speedily terminate, the brethren resolved to seek for an eligible residence near the river Walhaling.

While preparing for their removal they received intelligence, that the Congress of the United States, after the conclusion of the war with Great Britain, had given express orders, that the territory on the Muskingum, for-

merly inhabited by the christian Indians, should be reserved for them. This was welcome news at NEW GNADENHUETTEN ; for though an Indian feels a strong aversion to dwell in a place where any of his relatives have been killed, yet, on embracing the gospel, they had laid aside this superstitious notion. Various impediments, however, as yet prevented their return. The savages were still determined to carry on the war against the United States, and a great part of the Delawares and Shawanose declared their intention to oppose the return of the christian Indians.

Our Brethren, however, resolved at all events to leave the banks of the Huron, and if they could not immediately remove to the Muskingum, to seek a temporary residence in some other convenient spot. The governor of Fort Detroit approved of this determination, and sent formal messages to the Indians not to molest their christian countrymen. By his kind interposition they received a compensation of two hundred dollars for their houses and plantations in NEW GNADENHUETTEN, which were afterwards occupied by white settlers. He most generously offered them vessels, to carry them across lake Erie to Cayahaga, and on their arrival supplied them with provisions.

In April 1786 the missionaries and their people left NEW GNADENHUETTEN and went in twenty-two canoes to Detroit, the inhabitants of which expressed deep regret at their removal, having always found them industrious and honest neighbours. The governor treated them with great kindness and hospitality. In a few days, they embarked on board two trading vessels, the Beaver and Makina, belonging to the North-West Company, which one of the owners had kindly offered for the use of the congregation, and given strict orders to the captains to shew them all possible kindness, and not run any risks in case of danger. Their voyage was pleasant and prosperous till they arrived at an island in the lake, where they were obliged to encamp for four weeks, owing to contrary winds. At length a brisk gale sprung up, and in a short time brought them within sight of the Cayahaga coast, when

the wind suddenly veered round and drove them back to their former anchorage.

In consequence of this long delay, one of the vessels was ordered back to Detroit, and the captains agreed to land the congregation in two divisions in Sandusky, and then return with the vessels and bring the baggage to Caya-haga. The first division being unable to reach Sandusky, disembarked at Rocky Point, about eighty miles distant from the bay. Their journey by land was very difficult, as it lay through a pathless desert. After some days the second division overtook them, in slight canoes hastily made of bark. They now travelled together, one party on foot along the border of lake Erie, the other in canoes, keeping close to the shore; and arrived in safety at Caya-haga on the 7th of June. Want of provisions made them hasten their departure, and proceed up the river till they came to an old town, formerly inhabited by Ottawas, about one hundred miles distant from Pittsburg. Here they resolved to spend the summer, and though the season was already far advanced, they still cleared the ground for planting and even sowed some Indian corn. They called this place PILGERRUH.

The difficulties always attending the erection of a new settlement, were considerably lessened in this instance. For soon after their arrival they received a large supply of various necessary articles from our brethren at BETHLEHEM, and some traders, residing in the vicinity, readily furnished them with provisions, giving them credit for great part of the payment. The Congress of the United States likewise ordered a quantity of Indian corn and blankets to be given them, and in a written message informed them, that their return into the United States gave them great satisfaction, and they might always depend on the friendship and protection of government; promising to give them five hundred bushels of Indian corn, a hundred blankets and other necessaries from the public magazines, whenever they should remove to the Muskingum. This promise was scrupulously fulfilled, though their removal could not be immediately effected.

PILGERRUH was often visited by Chippewas, Ottawas,

and Delawares, expressing a desire to hear the gospel. But while this circumstance afforded sincere pleasure to the missionaries, they met with troubles to which they had been unaccustomed on the Huron. Several heathen Indians, who had relations in the settlement, endeavoured to seduce them to return to paganism, and on some their attempts were but too successful. Upon the whole, however, the state of things was pleasing and warranted the hope, that after a temporary rest in this place, they might proceed to the Muskingum.

The joy this prospect diffused through the congregation was soon interrupted. Various reports of new hostilities between the Americans and Indians reached PILGERRUH, and though they were soon discovered to be false, yet they excited no small consternation, as their recollection of the dreadful tragedy on the Muskingum was still too strong to be easily forgotten. Besides, the savages were as much against their remaining in their present situation as against their returning to their former settlements, and insisted on their removal to some other part of the country. This caused them much perplexity. After mature deliberation they determined to relinquish every idea of returning to the Muskingum at that time, but seek for a peaceful and safe retreat on some convenient spot between Cayahaga and Pettquotting.

In April 1787 they broke up from PILGERRUH, and, proceeding partly by land and partly by water, in less than a week arrived at the place they had fixed upon for their residence. This was very unlike any of their former places of abode. The soil was good and fertile, producing wild potatoes in great abundance; it appeared like a fruitful orchard, several apple and plumb trees growing here and there; and the lake, which was only a league distant, abounded with fish. They, therefore, rejoiced at the thought of establishing a regular settlement in so pleasant a country, especially as it was not frequented by any of those savages, who had hitherto proved such troublesome neighbours.

But their joy was of short duration. Not more than three or four days after their arrival, a Delaware captain

came into the camp, and gave them positive orders to quit that place and remove to Sandusky, adding the most solemn promises of protection and safety, and assuring them that the place appointed for their residence was not in the vicinity of the savages, the nearest Indian town being ten miles distant. Disagreeable as this message was, they considered submission as the path of duty. Nothing appeared so dreadful, as the prospect of being again subject to a heathen government. Yet they could not deny, that their calling seemed to require, that they should live in the very midst of those heathen, to whom they were to preach the gospel.

In the beginning of May they set forward, but had not proceeded far, when they discovered that great part of the message was false, for the place, intended for their residence, was not above two miles from the villages of the heathen. They determined, therefore, to go no further but settle near Pettquotting. Of this they informed the Chiefs, and obtained their permission to stay, at least a year, in that place without molestation.

They fixed on a situation near a river, called Huron, which empties itself into lake Erie at Pettquotting. On its western bank they laid out plantations, choosing the eastern, which was high land, for their dwellings; and called this settlement **NEW SALEM**. Many heathen Indians attended their public worship, and scarce a day passed without visits from strangers; and they had the satisfaction to find that the blessing of God accompanied their labours. Among those savages, who at this time were converted from the error of their way, were two persons formerly noted for profligacy. The one had some years ago formed a plan against the lives of the missionaries, and often lain in ambush to surprise them, but fortunately without success. Coming accidentally to **PILGERRUH**, the gospel made so deep and salutary an impression upon his mind, that he cried day and night to the Lord to be delivered from the slavery of sin. The other was a Huron Indian, who declined the offer made him by his nation, to be their chief, and came to **NEW SALEM**, declaring that he had been long seeking for something

better than worldly honours. He intended to visit his heathen relations, but when hearing of Jesus and his love to sinners, he relinquished that design, and remained faithfully attached to the congregation, finding there that peace and rest, which he had so long sought in vain elsewhere.

Many of those christian Indians also, who during the late troubles had been scattered through the country, by degrees returned to NEW SALEM, and were affectionately received. Yet with regard to such, as during their absence had relapsed into heathenism, our missionaries used proper discretion, and did not admit them to the privileges of the church, till they gave satisfactory proofs of repentance and change of heart. The prosperity of the young people afforded them much pleasure. Many of these, by a strict conformity to the precepts of the gospel, shewed that it had taken deep root in their understanding and affections. The assistants increased in grace and knowledge of the truth, and attended to their office with zeal and diligence. The good order maintained in the settlement, the peaceable conduct of its inhabitants, and their cheerful behaviour excited the admiration of all who visited the place, not excepting the very savages themselves. One of their Chiefs addressed our Indians thus: "You are in truth a happy people, you live cheerfully and peaceably together; and this is to be found no where but among you *."

Their residence near Pettquotting appeared very providential as it afforded them an opportunity of becoming acquainted with many Indians. They had more visitors here than in any of their former places of abode, who were always treated with the kindest hospitality, though this was often attended with no small inconvenience and expense; for it was no uncommon case for one family to lodge and entertain ten or more persons for a whole week and even longer. The assistants displayed great zeal and activity in pointing out to their guests, their need of a Saviour and in commending the love of God in Christ

* Here ends the history of Lookiel.

Jesus. Their endeavours were not fruitless. Several heathen embraced the gospel and received holy baptism. Among these was Gelelemin, formerly a Delaware Chief, and some other persons of distinction.

Gegeshumind, a son of the assistant Abraham, was another instance of the power of divine grace. He had been a notorious profligate, as he freely acknowledged to brother Zeisberger, when driven by the pangs of a guilty conscience to disclose his true character. In order not to forget any of the evil deeds he had committed, he brought fifty-eight small pieces of wood with him, which were designed to remind him of the crimes of which he had been guilty. Deep-rooted superstition and long-contracted habits of vice, drove him almost to despair and impeded his conversion; but the grace of God finally gained the victory, and liberated this slave of Satan. After his baptism he became a zealous confessor of the truth as it is in Jesus, especially when visiting the Indians. In this employment his knowledge of five of their languages, or dialects, was of great use to him.

Several apostates also returned, and some young men, acquainted with several languages, forsook paganism, joined the congregation, and became useful and active members of it, and the young people, born and educated in it, afforded the most pleasing hopes.

Those christian Indians, who after their dispersion from the Muskingum had retired to the Miami, continued to edify each other as well as circumstances would permit, and many of them remained true to their christian profession. Some departed this life in peace and in assured hope of a better inheritance. The decrease in number, occasioned by their removal, was made up by others who found their way to NEW SALEM. Among these was a girl, only eleven years old, who, as soon as she heard of the new settlement, undertook the journey by herself, and arrived in safety, being a distance of more than three hundred miles. Thus the settlement was gradually increasing, and at the close of 1790 contained upwards of two hundred inhabitants*.

* Brethren's History, Vol. iii. p. 223—227. and Vol. iv. p. 480.

After a tranquil residence of four years in NEW SALEM, they were obliged to quit that settlement. For some time past they had been frequently annoyed by the white dealers in rum, residing in their neighbourhood, and now they were alarmed by reports of hostilities having commenced between the United States and the Indians. They therefore endeavoured to find a temporary asylum in the English territory. For this purpose they fixed on a place lying about eighteen miles from Detroit. The governor of that town kindly afforded them every assistance in his power. The whole congregation, upwards of two hundred in number, crossed lake Erie in thirty canoes, and reached their new residence on the 4th of May 1791, the missionaries and the heavy baggage being conveyed in a ship, hired for that purpose by a gentleman in Detroit *.

Among other heathen, who during their abode in this place, sought the fellowship of the christian Indians, was a man of the tribe of the Wiondats. For some years he had manifested an inclination to live with them, and labouring now under a serious illness, he renewed his application. Some Indian brethren visited him and spent nearly the whole night in discoursing with him of the love of Jesus to sinners. This greatly enlivened him, and he regretted; that he was not able to go with them, declaring that he would wish to die among them. In a day or two he was brought to the settlement. The Roman Catholic priests, in whose communion he had been baptized, asking him, why he had changed his religion, he replied: "I have been long among you, and repeatedly heard your discourses; but it was all hay and stubble, and I have found nothing among you, that could tranquilize my mind; but this I have found with the Indian congregation †.

Their stay in this place, however, did not last above a

* This place, being only a temporary residence, received no particular name.

† A number of Roman Catholic priests reside among the Wiondats, who baptize them, but in other respects suffer them to live like other savages.

‡ The congregation being on the point of breaking up from their abode near Detroit, this Indian was not able to go with them; and it is not mentioned what became of him in the sequel. Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 527.

year. Some of their white neighbours, not being amicably disposed towards the mission, molested them in various ways; and war having now broken out between the Americans and savages, the latter sent repeated messages to our Indians to take up the hatchet against the white people, and in case of refusal, threatened to treat them as they had done their brethren on the Muskingum, or force them to return to paganism. Besides, their present residence, from its low situation, was rendered very unhealthy; many of the Indians died, and the missionaries themselves were frequently indisposed.

No other resource being left them; than to abandon their present place of abode, they directed their thoughts to Upper Canada, where the English government had assigned twenty five thousand acres of land, for the use of our mission, lying on the river Retrench, or Thames, which falls into the east side of lake St Clair. In April 1792 the whole congregation moved thither, going partly by land and partly by water. Having fixed on a proper spot, they immediately began to build and divide the farms. The district allotted to them consisted of three large dales; the high grounds being sandy, but the low lands uncommonly fertile and well watered. The greatest difficulty was, that they were obliged to fetch all the stones, required for building, from the bed of the river. To this settlement they gave the name of FAIRFIELD. It was afterwards declared to be a regular township, containing twelve miles in length and six in breadth; and our Indians in a short time improved it so much, that the wilderness was literally changed into a fruitful field.

In a few years FAIRFIELD became a very flourishing settlement. In 1797 it contained fifty houses, some of them large and convenient, inhabited by about one hundred and fifty Indians, besides the missionaries. By their industry in agriculture and various manufactures, the inhabitants could not only supply their own immediate necessities, but advantageously dispose of many articles to their neighbours. On an average they annually furnished the North-west fur-company with two thousand

bushels of Indian corn. In winter they made about five thousand pounds of maple-sugar*; and though they consumed a great part of it themselves, yet what they brought to market was still considerable, and of superior quality to any manufactured in Canada. They also raised a great number of cattle for sale; for being accustomed to deer's flesh, beef is unpalatable to Indians, and they seldom eat it. Their canoes, coopery, baskets, mats, &c., also commanded a ready sale. The whole country was benefitted by their industry, as it served to reduce the price of many of the principal necessities of life.

The establishment of our brethren here was of public utility in another point of view. When they first came to these parts, the nearest settlers to them, resided at a distance of thirty leagues; but no sooner was it known, that our Indians would form a colony on this river, than the adjacent lands were eagerly taken by white people; and in a few years above a hundred families settled in their neighbourhood. Having themselves opened roads in various directions through the country, travellers were continually passing to and fro, both by land and water, and FAIRFIELD might be considered as lying on the great road to Niagara. Thus this settlement appeared to be admirably suited for a missionary station, from whence the gospel might be proclaimed to the different and numerous tribes of the Chippeways.

Soon after their arrival in FAIRFIELD the Indians in the vicinity frequently visited them and attended their worship, especially the Monsys, who had a village at no great distance; and the native assistants from FAIRFIELD, visited them in their turn, preaching the gospel to them. In a few instances it displayed its converting power; but most of the inhabitants, not only rejected it themselves, but opposed those, who inclined to receive it. The relations of a certain woman endeavoured to deter her from going to the believers, intimating that these christian

* The maple [*acer saccharinum*] is a species of ash, the sap of which is boiled into sugar, and is little inferior to the West Indian sugar.

Indians and their teachers would meet a similar fate with their predecessors on the Muskingum. But nothing could shake her resolution, and the only reply she made was: "Should the believers suffer evil, as you say, I will share it with them; and if it goes well with them, I also shall enjoy it; where they dwell, there I will likewise dwell." The firmness of another Indian woman was not less remarkable. She was not moved from the purpose of joining the believers, either by the loss of her property, which was mostly taken from her, or by the terrifying predictions of the sorcerers, who prophesied, she would not live long if she went to the christians*.

The most numerous tribe of Indians, occupying the territory, in which FAIRFIELD lies, were the Chippeways. Many of these visited the settlement, and frequently attended divine worship with much apparent devotion. This was particularly the case in 1794, when a party of warriors, belonging to this tribe, encamped near the settlement, and remained there the whole winter. An old man from the camp actually took up his abode in FAIRFIELD, and our brethren entertained good hopes respecting him; but in a few months he went away, under pretence of fetching his children, and never returned†.

As the war between the United States and the Indians still continued, our brethren were often annoyed by companies of warriors passing through FAIRFIELD, or encamping for some days near the place, and sending repeated messages to the christian Indians, challenging them to join in the contest. In these cases our missionaries found it the most advisable to let their converts act according to their own insight and disposition, only exhorting them to put their trust in God, and not be intimidated by the threats of men. The consequence was, that they declined all these challenges with firmness; a very few only of the less stable members of the congregation joining the warriors.

Notwithstanding these temptations, the internal course

* Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 530.

† Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 532.

of the congregation was pleasing and prosperous. The edifying deaths of some members of it, excited the survivors to give increasing diligence to make their calling and election sure, and remain faithful unto the end. Among those, who about this time finished their mortal race, were two aged men, David and Joachim, who for many years had been intimate friends, and latterly, being too feeble to work, used to spend many hours together, discoursing of the salvation of their souls, the love and mercy of God our Saviour, the hope of eternal life, &c. David who departed in 1797, had been baptized in GNA-DENHUETTEN on the Mahony in 1753, and remained steadfast to his profession amidst all the vicissitudes, which in the sequel befel the christian Indians. In 1782, when the missionaries were separated from their flock and carried to Detroit, he retired to the river Thames, and lived like a hermit near the spot, where FAIRFIELD was afterwards built. He therefore rejoiced greatly when this settlement was formed, and in it spent the remainder of his days, being universally respected and beloved.

His friend, Joachim, was the first Delaware who embraced the gospel. After his baptism in 1745, he resided a whole year in the house of the single brethren at BETH-LEHEM, and ever after spoke of this period with much pleasure. In the sequel he bore all the sufferings, with which the Indian congregation was visited, with unshaken confidence in our Saviour. After their dispersion in SANDUSKY, he lived for some time by himself, but never mixed with the heathen. As soon as the congregation was again collected near Pettquottfng, he joined it, and led an exemplary life to his very end. He understood the German and English languages, could read a little, and was one of the best interpreters of the sermons of the missionaries *.

The necessity of watching over their flock and guarding it against relapsing into heathenism and its sinful and abominable practices, was a duty, which, however painful, was never neglected by our missionaries. In general

† Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 541.

they left it to the assistants to preserve good order and regularity in the settlement, that they might attend with less distraction to their more important functions and "give themselves continually unto prayer and the ministry of the word." And in this respect the services of the assistants were for most part sufficient. In extraordinary cases, however, and when public offence was given, the missionaries interfered, and without respect of persons, enforced discipline according to plain scripture rule. A distressing instance of this kind occurred in 1797, but which, by the grace of God, terminated in the sincere repentance of the offenders. Several members of the congregation having been guilty of intemperance, and the assistants, having not only connived at it, but in other respects been remiss in the performance of their duty, the missionaries first called together the latter, representing to them the unchristian and offensive nature of their conduct, whereby they had disqualified themselves from holding any office in the church, until they manifested real repentance. They then exhorted them to confess their transgressions to our Saviour and seek his pardon, and likewise to humble themselves before their brethren and sisters, asking their forgiveness, hoping that their example might be imitated by the other offenders. A few days after brother Zeisberger presented the offenders before the whole congregation, (which had been convened for that purpose,) admonishing them to sincere repentance. These admonitions had the desired effect. The guilty humbly acknowledged their transgressions, and spent several days in meeting together in small parties, and confessing to each other their deviations, with tears asking the forgiveness of all, whom they had offended. The missionaries gratefully acknowledged the hand of the Lord in thus leading the offenders to true compunction of heart for their misconduct. The end of discipline having thus been fully attained, they once more called the congregation together, and brother Zeisberger addressed them from Rev. ii. 5. "Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent and do thy first works." After fervent prayer, during which the whole assembly burst into loud weeping, he dismissed them in peace *

* Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 544—6.

Our missionaries were not inattentive to the spiritual wants of their white neighbours. Many of these regularly attended divine service at FAIRFIELD, and brought their children thither to be baptized. Those, who lived at a greater distance invited the missionaries to preach in their villages. In general they were treated with great respect by the settlers, who reposed almost unlimited confidence in them. The inhabitants of a certain town were even desirous of electing brother Senseman their representative in the assembly of the state. An honour which he however declined, as incompatible with his missionary calling*.

No very striking success, however, attended their endeavours for the conversion of the heathen Indians. For though many visited the settlement, the salutary impressions made on their minds by the preaching of the gospel, were but too successfully effaced by the temptations of the white dealers, who were continually seducing them to drunkenness; and thus neglect of the interests of their souls, and the commission of many crimes, followed of course. During the six years, since their removal from Pettquotting, only twelve adult Indians and forty children had been baptized. But amidst all these discouragements our missionaries did not relax in the zealous prosecution of their calling, and they had the joy to observe, that those christian Indians, who lived with them, were, with few exceptions, walking in the fear of the Lord, building up each other in their most holy faith. With regard to such characters as appeared still undecided, or had suffered themselves to be seduced by others, they exercised all possible patience and admonished them in love; for they had learned by the experience of many years that nothing is effected with Indians by force or constraint, as their notions of liberty are unbounded. Some of those, who had strayed at the time of the massacre on the Muskingum, and had till now remained among the pagans, returned and sought leave to reside with them.

Peace having been restored between the Indians and the United States, a resolution was taken by our bre-

* Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 547.

thren to renew the mission on the Muskingum, where Congress had formally granted to the Brethren's Society (in America) for propagating the gospel among the heathen, the tract of land, on which GNADENHUTTEN, SCHOENBRUNN and SALEM formerly stood, with four thousand acres of ground adjoining to each of the settlements. In this view the brethren J. Heckewaelder and William Henry, in the summer of 1797, went to survey that tract of land. They found the whole district overgrown with an impervious thicket of briars and brushwood of various kinds, and the haunt of serpents, bears, deer, turkies and other animals. Some ruins of the houses were still standing, and the place, where the Indians were massacred, was strongly marked, many of their bones lying concealed under the ashes.

In August the following year several Indian families from FAIRFIELD, consisting of thirty-three persons, commenced the renewal of the mission in this place. The venerable David Zeisberger, though seventy-seven years of age, with truly apostolical zeal, volunteered his services for this difficult and arduous undertaking, being accompanied by his wife, likewise aged and infirm, and the missionary Benjamin Mortimer. The journey, as usual in this country, was tedious, occupying nearly two months, and was attended with many dangers and difficulties both by land and water. When they came to the carrying-place in the river Cayahaga, they were obliged to drag the loaded canoes for seven miles over solid rocks; but by the exertions of the Indians they reached the place of their destination, in good health and perfect safety, in October. The Indians indeed combated every hardship with wonderful composure and steady perseverance. They never murmured, and not an individual among them ever appeared to lament having undertaken the journey, or to flinch from the duties he had thereby imposed on himself. It is justly remarked by the missionaries, "that men of their stamp and character would be the fittest of all others to make known the gospel to their wild countrymen, living at a distance, if properly prepared for the work by the Spirit of God." It was strongly impressed on their own minds, that they had undertaken the journey

for that very purpose, and most of them expressed an ardent desire to be useful to their heathen countrymen by leading them to a knowledge of the Saviour of sinners. They entered into an agreement among themselves, to renew the ancient hospitality and treat all visitors in the most friendly manner.

Thus after the lapse of more than seventeen years, since the christian Indians were forcibly expelled from this part of the country, a few of the survivors, in reliance on the help of God, ventured to re-occupy that station. They erected their first settlement near the former site of SCHOENBRUNN and called it GOSHEN. A few heathen families in the sequel moved thither and embraced the gospel. At the beginning of the year 1801, the number of inhabitants amounted to seventy one persons. The love and christian simplicity prevailing among them, were noticed with great pleasure and much edification by all visitors. Their number, however, was considerably diminished the following year, as several families removed to the river Wabash, to commence a mission among the Cherokees.

November the 17th 1808, the venerable brother Zeisberger finished his earthly pilgrimage, in the eighty eighth year of his age. Of this long life he had spent above sixty years as a missionary among the Indians, suffering numberless hardships and privations, and enduring many dangers. He had acquired an extensive knowledge of the Delaware language and several other Indian tongues. But most of his translations, vocabularies and other books for the instruction of the Indians, being only in manuscript, were burned on the Muskingum; and the unsettled state of the mission for a long period after, his multifarious other avocations, and his advancing age, did not allow him sufficient leisure or strength completely to make up this loss. His zeal for the conversion of the heathen never abated, and no consideration could prevail on him to leave his beloved Indian flock. The younger missionaries revered him as a father, and generally spent some time at GOSHEN, before they entered upon their labours, to profit by his counsel and instruction. Within

a few months of his death he became nearly blind; yet he did not lose his usual cheerfulness, being perfectly resigned to the will of God; and though his body was almost worn to a skeleton, his judgment remained sound. Thus "he came to the grave in a full age, like a shock of corn cometh in its season; and entered into the joy of his Lord."

Meanwhile our brethren continued their labours in GOSHEN, and enjoyed rest and quietness, and even during the war in 1819, when FAIRFIELD was destroyed, they experienced no serious molestation or interruption. The vicinity of the two colonies of Bersaba and Gnadenhuetten, inhabited by English and Germans, who are members of the brethren's church, likewise profited by the visits and services of the missionaries, especially while there was no resident minister at Gnadenhuetten, which is only seven miles distant from GOSHEN; and thus a constant friendly intercourse was maintained between these two colonies and the missionary settlement. Occasionally also our brethren made itinerant tours through the country, in order to visit those Indians, who formerly belonged to the congregation at Pettquotting, and now were scattered in the wilderness, like sheep without a shepherd, and to preach the gospel to the heathen. On these circuits they often travelled three hundred miles, mostly on foot.

The Indians belonging to this congregation, though but few in number, walked worthily of their christian profession, which the more strongly excited the gratitude of their teachers, as they were daily exposed to the most alluring temptations. Within a distance of only three miles from them, lay a town, which might be compared to a very Sodom, on account of the wickedness of its inhabitants, who though they were white people and called themselves christians, lived in the practice of every abomination, and tried every base art to seduce our Indians. Hitherto, however, even the weakest among them, have shown too much reverence for the word of God, to yield to these temptations; and our missionaries continue to observe, also among the young people, encouraging evidences,

that they are often powerfully impressed with divine truth, and show an abhorrence of paganism and its concomitant vices and misery. Yet the ungodly lives of the white settlers have an injurious tendency in keeping the savages from attending to the preaching of the gospel: consequently few conversions from heathenism occur at GOSHEN. The most recent intelligence from that quarter, dated in July 1817, mentions, that an Indian girl had been baptized on the 6th of January preceding, and that brother Luckenbach was particularly attentive to the school. Several of the children shewed a good capacity and were able to read the English Testament. Among other exercises they translate portions of scripture into their own language, which gives the missionaries an opportunity of knowing, whether they understand what they read. The present number of inhabitants at GOSHEN does probably not exceed fifty.

As early as the year 1740 attempts were made by our Brethren to propagate the gospel among the Cherokees, but these and several succeeding endeavours were frustrated by repeated wars among the different Indian tribes, as well as by subsequent hostilities between the English and Americans. Nothing therefore was effected by the journeys made by them into this territory, except that a friendly intercourse was thereby established with that nation. In 1799 the Brethren's Society (in North America) for propagating the gospel among the heathen, received intelligence, that the Cherokees wished to have teachers residing among them. In consequence of this information, the brethren Abraham Steiner and F. C. von Schweinitz were commissioned to visit that part of the country and inquire into the disposition of its Indian inhabitants. But the season being already far advanced, the object of their journey was not fully attained. Meanwhile a correspondence was kept up with some gentlemen, residing in those parts, who favoured the undertaking. By their advice the two brethren, mentioned before, left Salem in North Carolina a second time towards the end of August following. In about three weeks they arrived at Tellico on the river Tennessee, being the frontier-town of the United States towards the territory of the Cherokees.

Some days after the Chiefs of the two tribes, the Upper and Lower Cherokees, assembled to hold a great council, at which between three and four thousand Indians were present. To this assembly our brethren were introduced and the object of their journey laid before it. After spending several days in consultation, all the Upper Chiefs declared their approbation of the proposal, and in token of friendship gave them the right hand; but the Lower Chiefs would not agree to it, and appeared rather indifferent.

Every thing having been finally determined upon by the directors of the mission, and the needful permission obtained from the government, the brethren A. Steiner and Gottlieb Byhan went thither in April 1801, and took up their abode with a Mr. Vann, who treated them with great kindness, and lent them his negroes to assist in building a cottage for their dwelling on the land, appropriated for the use of the mission, which they afterwards called SPRING-PLACE. Mr. Vann's friendship was of essential service to them, for as the Indians generally respected him, and the worst stood in awe of him, none ventured to molest them. They preached every sunday at his house to whites, negroes and half-Indians. Some of the latter attended very regularly. As to the Cherokees they could as yet converse with but few, finding the acquisition of their language a very arduous task, especially as they found it difficult to procure a good interpreter.

On their arrival in the country the Indians gave them a very cordial reception, and expressed great satisfaction at their coming; but when they found it impracticable directly to open a school for their children, the great Council at Esternally came to a resolution to order them to quit the country, alleging as a reason for this unexpected resolution, that the missionaries had not kept their promise, no school having yet been begun. But as the Chiefs allowed them half a year for deliberating on this business, every thing was amicably adjusted, and arranged to the satisfaction of both parties.

Having finished the necessary buildings at **SPRING-PLACE**, they commenced their school with four Indian boys, whom they lodged, boarded and instructed. Their number was gradually increased, and Mr. Vann kindly took some into his own house, as our missionaries had not room to accommodate them all. Several of them were sons of Chiefs, who appeared very desirous that their children should be instructed. The young people rewarded the labours of their teachers by making a good progress in reading (both English and Cherokees,) writing and arithmetic, and by the pleasure they took in learning scripture-texts and hymns. They frequently seemed much impressed when the missionaries spoke to them of the love of God in Christ Jesus. After leaving the school they kept up an epistolary correspondence with their former teachers, adverting with delight to their residence at **SPRING-PLACE**. The endeavours of our Brethren were greatly facilitated by the kind exertions of colonel Meig, agent for the Cherokee nation, who procured them some assistance for their school from government.

With regard to the principal aim of their residence in this country, they as yet reaped little fruit from their labours. The good disposition of the Cherokees towards them did indeed not abate, but the work of conversion proceeded very slowly. The public preaching, however, was sometimes attended by thirty or forty, and those Indians, who occasionally visited them, appeared in some measure convinced of the importance of the gospel. Their worship was also frequently attended by Negroes, many of whom are kept by the white settlers in these parts, instead of servants. Towards the close of 1814 they had the pleasure to see three Half-Indians commemorate with them the death of the Lord at his table. One of their former scholars, Dazizi, had settled in their immediate neighbourhood, and seemed truly concerned for his salvation. He faithfully assisted them in their domestic affairs. With respect to some others of their scholars, the prospect was encouraging.

In externals, God has blessed the labour of their hands; they have introduced several useful trades, cultivated the

land with advantage, improved their habitations, and SPRING-PLACE is now considered one of the healthiest missionary stations in North America.

About a year after the mission to the Cherokees had been begun, a formal message was sent by the Chiefs and great Council of the Delawares on the river Wosapikamikunk, a branch of the WABASH, to our brethren at GOSHEN, requesting, that some teachers might be sent to them. Considering this as a new door opened for the diffusion of the gospel, the christian Indians at GOSHEN in return sent a solemn message to those on the WABASH, informing them that several families of their believing countrymen, with some missionaries, would come and instruct them in the word of God.

Pursuant to this proposal, the brethren Kluge and Luckenbach, and twelve christian Indians, (including three children,) left GOSHEN towards the end of February 1801, and in a few weeks arrived in safety on the Wosapikamikunk, and were received with every token of pleasure and friendship by the people there. They chose an elevated spot for their dwelling, situated between nine populous Indian towns, inhabited by different tribes. Several Indians, formerly baptized by the Brethren, had settled here after the general dispersion of the congregation at the close of the American war. These our missionaries hoped to collect together, for hitherto they had been forcibly prevented by their pagan relatives from returning to their teachers.

They had not been long in this quarter before a few heathen came to reside with them and were baptized. The preaching of the gospel was frequently attended by a considerable number of attentive hearers, and the Chiefs treated them with respect and apparent friendship. Their settlement also was improved: at the end of the year 1802 it consisted, besides the church, of ten houses, and contained twenty three inhabitants. But this quiet and comparative prosperity was soon interrupted. For some time past our missionaries had resolved to change their present place of abode; but as their endeavours to find a

convenient spot, had not succeeded, they deferred their removal ; till the danger, which they considered still distant, burst upon them at once, attended with all the horrors, which but too awfully distinguished the ruthless attacks of the savages on their innocent christian countrymen, on former occasions.

In the autumn of 1805, one of the Chiefs, who had been their friend and protector, died, and another, who likewise respected and befriended them, was deposed. The savages now became ungovernable, threatened to murder the missionaries, and even killed their cattle before their eyes. This however was only the prelude to a transaction as atrocious as any that ever disgraced human nature ; as will appear by the following extract from the journal of the missionaries.

“ In February 1806 all the Indians in this district were summoned by their teachers, or lying prophets, to assemble on the Woapikamikunk, to hear the foolish stories, fabricated by the emissaries of Satan, of pretended visions and revelations received from God ; and to be instructed how to act in conformity to them. Among these teachers was a Shawanose, an arch impostor. He was considered as the principal among them, pretending that he was able to know and discover hidden mysteries. The Delaware tribe received him with great cordiality, and resolved to hold a grand council, in order to root out all witchcraft and poison-mixing (which, according to their superstitious notions, existed among them,) and by fire to extort confession from all such, as the Shawanose should accuse ; and whoever would not confess, should be hewn in pieces with their war-hatchets, and burned. With a view to execute their horrid purpose, the young Indians got together, chose the most ferocious to be their leaders, deposed all the old Chiefs, and guarded the whole Indian assembly, as if they were prisoners of war, especially the aged of both sexes. The venerable old Chief Tettapachsit was the first whom they accused of possessing poison, and having destroyed many Indians by his art. When the poor old man would not confess, they fastened him with cords to two posts, and began to roast him at a

slow fire. During the torture, he said, that he kept poison in the house of our Indian brother Joshua. Nothing was more welcome to the savages than this accusation, for they wished to deprive us of the assistance of this man, who was the only christian Indian residing with us at that time. They had frequently sent him invitations to attend their heathenish festivities, but he would never accept them. His answer was: 'You know that I am a believer in the true God, whose word we made known to you; I therefore can have no fellowship with you in your wicked works. Do you as you please, but leave me to serve the living God.' This answer displeased them much, and on March 13th, they sent seven wild Indians, with painted faces, to our settlement, and took Joshua away by main force. They pretended, that he only need tell Tettepachsit to his face, that he had no poison in his house, and might then return home. All excuses were vain, and Joshua was compelled to accompany them to the assembly at Woapikamikunk.

"When he was presented to Tettepachsit he frankly confessed, that he had accused him, merely to pacify the enraged multitude, and escape from the torture. Joshua was now pronounced not guilty, yet they would not permit him to return, but insisted on his remaining with them till the Shawanose should arrive. This son of Belial arriving the same day, all the Indians, of both sexes, were ordered by him to sit down in a large circle, when he would declare who had poison in his possession. The two old Chiefs, Tettepachsit and Hackinpomska, were both accused of poison-mixing, and the former was more particularly charged with the untimely death of many Indians. When the Shawanose was asked about Joshua, he indeed declared, that he had no poison, but that he was possessed of an evil spirit, by which he was able to destroy other Indians. Pleased with this verdict, they seized these poor innocent men, and watched them strictly, like condemned criminals. We knew nothing of these horrible events, until the evening of the 16th, when a message was brought, that the savages had burned an old woman to death, who had been baptized by the Brethren in former times, and also that our poor Joshua was kept close prisoner.

“ On the 17th, our distress and fear concerning the fate of Joshua rose still higher. We were stunned with horror, on seeing ten of the most savage Indians, with faces painted black, arrive in our settlement, conducting old Tettepachsit. Soon after, these murderous wretches kindled a large fire close to our place, and, having given the aged Chief a blow on the head with a war-hatchet, threw him alive into the flames, diverting themselves with the miserable cries and convulsions of the poor dying man. The flames communicated to the grass and wood near the settlement, by which all our dwellings were filled with smoke.

“ After committing this horrid murder, the savages came boldly into our house, boasting of their atrocious deed, and, assuming a hypocritical mien, demanded bread and tobacco, which we were obliged to give them. We took courage to ask them, what would be the fate of Joshua. They immediately began to accuse him, saying, there was good reason for detaining him a prisoner, for they well knew that he understood the black-art, and could destroy the Indians, his faith in our doctrines being a mere pretence. We endeavoured, indeed, to convince them of the untruth of these assertions but all in vain. They, however, pretended to set our minds at ease, by saying, that they would not kill him. We charged them to tell their captains, that they ought well to consider what they were doing; that Joshua had long been a believer, and never had had any concern with the things of which they accused him, as he was a servant of God, and had renounced the devil and all his works, that he was also of the Mahikan tribe, and no Delaware, and had accompanied us as interpreter. We therefore requested, that they would immediately release him, for we should consider all they did unto him, as done unto ourselves, &c. On this occasion they manifested the most diabolical hypocrisy; for though they knew, that Joshua was to be murdered that very day, they promised to deliver our words to the captains. We perceived, however, that our defence of Joshua had displeased them, and they left our place in a riotous manner.

"Now though we had been informed, that the savages suspected us of keeping poison, for the purpose of making those Indians sick, who would not do as we had directed them; and though we did not know to what length the devil might instigate them to carry their fury, nor what our fate might be; yet we felt ourselves constrained to go to their assembly, and try what we could do for the preservation of Joshua, or at least to give him comfort and advice, should we even suffer for it. But as my wife and children (writes brother Kluge) could not be left alone in so dreadful a situation, brother Luckenbach took courage to go alone.

"He had hardly proceeded half way, before he met an Indian, who informed him, that Joshua had become a victim to their cruelty on the foregoing day. They gave him two cuts in his head with a hatchet, and then threw him into the fire.

"With these dreadful tidings brother Luckenbach returned to us in the afternoon. This was the heaviest stroke we had yet met with. Dread and terror took from us all power of speech and reflection, and we could do nothing but utter cries of lamentation and woe.

"Having, in some degree, recovered ourselves, our first thought was to sell all our goods, and fly as expeditiously as possible towards GOSHEN. We were making preparations for this, when the sudden change of the weather to severe cold, prevented us from departing so soon as we intended.

"Some days after we were informed, that Joshua had spoken a great deal, at the place where he was murdered, in a language not understood by the Indians; which led us to suppose, that he had directed his prayers to the Lord in the German language, which he spoke well. When the savages forced him from us, he was in a very comfortable state of mind, and seemed well prepared to leave the world and meet his Saviour as a reconciled sinner. In the following days, more Indians were accused, and shared the same fate *."

* Per. Acc. Vol. iv. 1—7.

Not long after this tragical event, the missionaries were forced to relinquish the station on the WABASH altogether.

When our Brethren erected the settlement of FAIRFIELD in Canada, they were peculiarly pleased with the facility, which its local situation promised for extending their missionary labours to the Chippeway Indians, who inhabited several towns only a short distance from FAIRFIELD. In order to carry this benevolent design into effect, the missionary C. F. Dencke, who possessed the happy talent of acquiring a new language with ease, and was already well versed in the Delaware tongue, paid several visits to the Chippeways in 1801; and the following year took up his abode among them on a piece of ground, formally allotted to him by the Chiefs. Its situation was very convenient lying on the river Longuakamik, and being surrounded by eight Indian villages.

Here he lived in a manner separated from all human society, for, excepting some Indian hunting huts, the nearest habitation to him was Mr. Harsen's dwelling, about a mile distant, on the opposite side of the river. In a short time, however, two or three Indian families put up their tents near his house; and he was frequently visited by others, some of whom occasionally lodged with him for a night. He omitted no opportunity of commending to them, as well as he was able, the gospel of salvation; and in some instances his words appeared to gain entrance into their hearts, for they repeated their visits, and declared, that they could not forget his discourse, saying, "it had made them sick at heart." A school, he had commenced with Mr. Harsen's boys, he was obliged to give up again, as the mother found it inconvenient to send them. He therefore applied himself with more diligence to learn the Chippeway dialect, into which he translated several portions of the Bible. These he read to the Indians, who visited him, and they all declared, that they understood him very well.

In the sequel, however, the savages began to express dissatisfaction at the residence of the Brethren among

them, fostering a suspicion, that they were come to possess themselves of their country. Some even uttered threats against the life of the missionary, and he was finally obliged to abandon his station and return to FAIRFIELD.

Not discouraged by these repeated failures, our Brethren in North America persevered in their philanthropic endeavours to convey the blessings of christianity to the heathen nations around them. During a visitation, held by bishop Loskiel at GOSHEN in the year 1803, it was resolved to begin a new settlement at Pettquoting on lake Erie. Agreeably to this resolution, the missionaries Haven and Oppelt, together with thirty-six Indian brethren and sisters from FAIRFIELD, moved thither in spring 1804, and formed a colony about three miles beyond the towns, belonging to the Monsys. At the end of the year this small congregation consisted of sixty-seven persons. Amidst various hardships the courage of our missionaries was strengthened by the experience of the Lord's gracious help, and by clear evidences of the work of his holy Spirit on the hearts of our Indian brethren and sisters. Their worship was sometimes attended by a considerable number of heathen, though as yet apparently without any salutary effect.

A few years after their arrival they found it would be necessary for them to quit this place, being informed that government had sold this district to some white settlers, which exposed them to the danger of being driven away at a short warning. Besides, the proximity of the Monsey town and the introduction of the rum-trade, which the missionaries could not prevent, were circumstances very pernicious to the morals of their young people. They therefore deemed it expedient to emigrate from Pettquoting and took up their residence on SANDUSKY CREEK. On its western bank they erected a temporary building on a piece of ground allotted to them by the Monsey tribe. The two missionaries, Luckenbach and Hagen, visited two Monsey towns, lying higher up the river, generally twice a week, and preached as often as circumstances would permit. They were likewise invited by the Chief

of the Wyondats to come to Upper Sandusky. Most of those Indians, residing in these parts, who had been baptized in former years, regularly attended divine worship, bringing their children with them. But, though they seemed often much impressed with the truths of the gospel, no material change was wrought on their conduct, as they too easily yielded to the solicitations of the heathen to attend their idolatrous festivities. Very few of the latter ever attended their meetings; and only ten Indian children, most of whom had been formerly baptized, came to the school.

In the year 1812, however, the Monsy tribe, with a view to whose instruction our missionaries resided in that country, very unexpectedly resolved to leave the banks of the Sandusky and form a settlement on the Huron in the province of Michigan. Forty families in consequence emigrated, and among these were all those formerly baptized by the Brethren, some of whom intended to go to FAIRFIELD, if they could obtain permission to pass over to the English territory. After their departure our missionaries deemed it expedient to forsake their present residence, and occupy a house, on the reserved land, formerly built by a Presbyterian minister for a school-house, and which was offered them, being unoccupied at the time. They were chiefly induced to accept this offer in the hope, that they might from thence visit the Wyondats and Mingoes, and diffuse the knowledge of the gospel among them. This station, however, was afterwards abandoned.

In the year 1803 the Brethren's society (in N. America) for propagating the gospel among the heathen, directed their attention to the Creek Indians, a very populous nation, computed at seventy or eighty thousand souls, and among whom, through the laudable exertions of the American government, a greater degree of improvement and civilization had been introduced, than was to be met with among the other native tribes. In order to carry their design into effect, they first deputed brother A. Steiner, on his return from SPRING-PLACE, to make a journey into the country of the Creeks. This commission he executed towards the end of summer in the above mentioned year.

He proceeded to Fort Wilkinson, on the river Oconu, in Georgia, and was treated with great kindness and hospitality by Colonel Hawkins, at whose house he lodged, during his stay of seven days. The colonel entered warmly into the proposal for establishing a mission in this part of the country, pointing out the mode most likely to be attended with success, and promising to assist them with his advice, protection and friendship in every possible way.

Animated by these encouraging prospects, two missionaries went, after some time, to this country, and occupied a house, kindly provided for them by Col. Hawkins, situate on the river FLINT, about sixty miles from Milledgeville, the seat of government in Georgia. Here they diligently applied themselves to learn the language, and visited the Indians in their own villages. The latter also frequently came to them, chiefly indeed for the purpose of purchasing their manufactured goods, for as yet they evinced but little disposition to hear and believe the gospel. The unsettled state of the country, during the ensuing war, rendered it necessary to abandon this station.

It appeared the most convenient, in detailing these minor attempts of our Brethren to propagate the gospel among the Indians, not to interrupt the relation by too nice a regard to the order of time; I have therefore referred to them all here, as they respectively succeeded each other, and shall now resume the thread of the general narrative.

After the emigration of several families from FAIRFIELD, in 1798, for the purpose of commencing the mission at GOSHEN; the former settlement, though considerably diminished in point of numbers, continued in a flourishing state, both as to its temporal prosperity, and the progressive advance of the major part of its inhabitants in those pious and moral habits, which adorn the character of the true christian. Perplexities and trials of various kinds were indeed not wanting: but their greatest trouble arose from the white people in their vicinity, who by the introduction of the rum-trade, occasioned many evils in the country, among which a spirit of insubordination was not

the least, and filled the missionaries with many anxious apprehensions for the morals of their young people. But, whenever their faith and hope were ready to droop, the Lord rekindled their zeal in his service by giving them fresh proofs of the power of his grace to conquer the most corrupt passions of the human mind, and elicit from the most stubborn heart the tear of repentance. Although few of the neighbouring heathen were savingly affected by the gospel, many of the children, born and baptized in the settlement, as they matured in age and understanding, experienced the converting influences of the holy Spirit; and some, who had strayed from the congregation and relapsed into sin, now and then returned, and with true compunction of heart, sought the forgiveness of the Lord and his people. Thus in the year 1812, twenty-two persons of the above description were added to the church; and at the close of that year the whole number amounted to one hundred and twenty-six persons.

FAIRFIELD, after enjoying tranquillity for more than twenty years, was on a sudden involved in all the troubles of war, in consequence of the contest between England and the United States.

On the 2nd of October. 1813, seventy sick English soldiers arrived at the settlement, and were accommodated in the chapel and the school-house. The dwellings, both of the missionaries and Indians, had been for some time occupied by fugitives, whose number was daily increasing. The following day, however, the surgeon ordered the chapel to be cleared, that the usual Sunday's service might be performed.

On the 4th, the British General Proctor informed the missionaries, that he was willing to purchase their houses, Indian corn, garden-fruits, furniture, and any thing else they could spare, for the use of the army; and promised that another tract of land should be given to the christian Indians for a temporary residence during the war, and that they should be provided from the king's stores with provision and clothing. The Indians being convinced, that it would be dangerous to delay their departure any longer, left the settlement.

On the same day an engagement took place between the American army and the English detachment, about a mile and a half from FAIRFIELD, in which the latter were overpowered. General Proctor escaped with 15 soldiers, the other regulars were either killed or taken prisoners, and the Indian auxiliaries escaped into the woods. In the evening, a great number of Americans entered the settlement, chiefly on horseback. At first, they pretended to be friendly, and promised to do no harm to the missionaries, nor take any of their private effects, and likewise expressed their regret, that the christian Indians had left the place, as they had intended them no injury*.

The same night, however, they began to treat the missionaries with great severity, accused them of secreting king's stores and English officers, and, with fierce importunity, demanded that they should be delivered up. The assurances given, that the accusation was not founded in truth, were of no avail. Every room and corner were searched; and particularly the roofs of the chapel and school-house. John Dolson, who had fled hither with his family, and two other men, were made prisoners, but liberated on the following day. They told brother Schnall, that he, being a missionary, was not to be considered as a prisoner of war, but that he must not consider it as an insult, that his house was guarded during the night. They were now ordered to open all their trunks and boxes for examination, and no person was permitted to go out of the house without a guard. Of course they could take no rest, but spent the night in silent prayer to the Lord, commending themselves, and the white people, who had sought refuge with them, to his almighty protection.

Very early the next morning, the Americans began to plunder the settlement, and seized on all kinds of provisions. The missionaries were even obliged to surrender their last morsel of bread: 50 bushels of potatoes, 12 of apples, all kinds of garden-stuff, and 600 pounds of flour, which they had just purchased for winter's consumption,

* The fears of the christian Indians were, however, well founded, and the remembrance of the events of 1782, justified their flight. [See p. 189]

were taken from them, and ten bee-hives emptied of all the honey, without destroying the bees.

During the plundering, the American general, Harrison, and several officers arrived. Brother Schnall immediately waited upon him, and recommended the settlement to his protection, requesting also, that some compensation might be made for what had been taken. His request was refused, but he was told, that the missionaries had liberty to quit the place. Commodore Perry, who was one of the party, meeting brother Schnall in the street, behaved to him with kindness, said, he knew our society and respected our missions, and promised to procure a passport, that they might depart without being molested; which he likewise effected. After this interview he came several times to their house, by which their anxiety was in some measure relieved; some of the officers and privates also expressed pity for their hard fate. Some even used force to keep off the wild and lawless soldiery, who loaded the missionaries with the most bitter curses and mockeries. By this interposition, they gained time to pack up their property. Commodore Perry now informed them, that he should soon leave the settlement, and advised them to make haste and get away, for if they staid after his departure, he would not answer for their being able to proceed. General Harrison likewise ordered them to hasten their flight. But as they were going to load the waggon, they were once more obliged to submit their baggage to a thorough search. Not the smallest article, however, was found, which could tend to impeach their character. They were obliged to leave all their furniture behind them. They had no sooner quitted the place, than part of it was set on fire, and on the following day, the rest of the buildings were wholly consumed; not even the smallest out-house was spared.

On the 15th the missionaries arrived at Detroit, where General Cass, the commandant, furnished them with a passport to go to BETHLEHEM. In prosecuting their journey they experienced various and great hardships, but also many signal proofs of the protection of the Lord.

When the news of the approach of an American de-

tachment, and the defeat of the English, first reached FAIRFIELD, our brethren there resolved, that the missionary Schnall and his wife, together with Michael Young, who was aged and infirm, should go to BETHLEHEM; and brother Dencke and his wife remain with the Indians and share in their fate, whatever it might be. They cheerfully acceded to this proposal, determined even to devote their lives to this service.

The Indians, on leaving the settlement, had encamped about six miles higher up the river, but being alarmed by reports brought by other fugitives, they had all fled into the woods; so that when the missionary arrived at the camp, he found it deserted, and for some time both he and the Indians remained ignorant of each other's situation. In this uncertainty, not knowing which way to direct their steps, they providentially met with a man, who offered to take them in his waggon to Delaware-town. On their way thither, besides other hardships, they had the mortification to be attacked by a gang of Kikkapoo and Shawanose robbers, who plundered them of the few articles of clothing, which they had saved in their flight from FAIRFIELD, and of the greater part of their other goods, together with their books and manuscripts, not even leaving them a bible or testament*.

But they soon forgot the sorrow occasioned by these disasters, when they reached Delaware-town on the 12th of October. They had scarcely arrived, before a number of the FAIRFIELD Indians came running to meet them, and with tears in their eyes offered thanks to God, for having thus brought them together again. Messengers were quickly despatched into the woods to search for those who were still absent: for in their sudden flight parents were separated from children, and children from parents. They were soon collected together, and only one sister was missing, who had been murdered below FAIRFIELD.

Having at length arrived near lake Ontario, the Indians built huts for themselves in the woods, a house for

* Per. Acc. Vol. v. p. 437—441.

the missionary and a chapel, which latter was opened for divine worship at christmas 1813. At the close of that year the congregation consisted of one hundred and sixty members, besides twenty-three persons, not yet baptized, but who had come to winter with them and regularly attended divine service. This situation being deemed rather unsafe, on account of its nearness to the lake and the superiority of the American fleet, they removed the following spring farther towards the mountains, about ten miles from Burlington Heights. One of their heaviest trials arose from the total stoppage of all communication with our congregations in America, and even several letters and parcels, sent from England, did not arrive. They were the more thankful, therefore, to the loyal and patriotic Society at York, who without being solicited remitted a hundred dollars to the missionary, with an intimation that it would give them pleasure to render him further assistance, should he need it, till he could command his own resources.

After the termination of the war, they returned to FAIRFIELD, and for some time dwelt in huts on the site of the former buildings, till they had erected a new settlement, rather higher up on the opposite bank of the river, at a little distance from it. This place they began to inhabit toward the end of the summer of 1815, calling it New FAIRFIELD; the number of inhabitants then amounted to one hundred and nine. Here they continued to enjoy rest and peace; the missionaries, (whose number had been increased by the arrival of J. R. Schmidt from Bethlehem,) prosecuting their calling with alacrity, and not without encouraging proofs that the Lord blessed their endeavours for the conversion of the heathen.

A very striking instance of this they were favoured to witness in 1816, in the case of an Indian, called Onim, whom the Lord was pleased to make a miracle of grace in the fullest sense of the phrase.

This Indian had given evidence of his hostility against the mission from his early youth. He was one of those who calumniated John Papunbank at FRIEDENSHUET-

TEN*. At that time he used to wear a tomahawk in his girdle, and when questioned what he intended to do with it, replied, "cleave the missionaries' skulls for deceiving the Indians." This enmity he manifested, on all occasions, against the missionaries and christian Indians generally, till within a few years, when the infirmities of age put a stop to his activity. The first sign of a change of sentiment in him, was observed when he entertained the brethren Luckenbach and Zacharias in his cabin at the Monsey-town, on their way to Grand-river. Till then, he had always been lurking in the neighbourhood of our settlements, trying to create disturbances. And being a preacher among his countrymen, he used to dissuade them, by all the means in his power, from embracing the doctrines of the whites. "For," said he, "their skin is white and ours is brown; and our whole manner of life is entirely different from theirs: of course they must also have a different way of happiness; and those Indians who embrace their doctrine are altogether deceived." He taught the existence of three gods; a brown, a white, and a black god; and that each nation should live conformably to the directions received from the god of their colour. The Indians, of course, were to preserve their own religious ceremonies, their feasts, dances, sorceries, &c. He opposed, in particular, the gospel doctrine of the remission of sins; teaching his countrymen, that those, who lived according to the will of the Great Good Spirit, would, after this life, go to him; but those, who acted differently, would be banished to the haunts of the Evil Spirit. He believed not only in the immortality of the human soul, but even asserted, that all creatures, and also trees and herbs, are inhabited by a living soul; accounting for the withering of the latter, when cut down, or plucked up, by saying, that their indwelling spirit then left them.

From what he said during his last illness, it should appear that he was led to reflect on his lost state by a remark, addressed to him by an Indian sister, Anna Paulina, who met him in December 1815 at the house of a sick woman, whom he was endeavouring to cure by his sorceries,

* See *Lothiel*, Part III. p. 65.

for he had always pretended to great skill in this art. The following spring he was taken ill, when on his way to a Munsy-town, for the purpose of assisting at a feast to be held there. Unable to proceed further than New FAIRFIELD, he returned to his friends, who had a camp near the settlement.

On the 10th of March he sent for brother Jacob, one of the native assistants and, among other remarks observed: "A word, lately spoken by one of your christian Indians, has laid hold of my soul. I begin to be troubled in my mind, and to grow doubtful concerning my spiritual state. My constant cry is: Oh for some one to show me the right way." Having said more to the same effect, Jacob addressed him nearly in the following words: "Thou hast now told me a great deal; I will tell thee something too. Listen to me, Onim! I well remember that ever since I was a little child, thou hast often been with the congregation of christian Indians, always going from and coming again to us. For many years thou hast heard the gospel which we believe. But till now, thou hast despised and ridiculed it, saying, 'I have another way to be saved, according to my creation*.' But now, when thou art here in a miserable situation, lying on hard boards, unable to help thyself; thy little property spent in drinking; nobody taking care of thee, and death seeming to be at hand: now, dost thou say at last, '*I have brought terror on my mind, because I have been so wicked?*' Oh, that these words of thine were but true! Would to God, thou didst but feel real anxiety about thy condition! For then thy soul might yet be saved. Art thou indeed convinced that the devil hath deceived thee? Why art thou concerned about thyself at last, at the very end of thy life? In the days of thy health, thou hast despised and mocked at the word of God; thou hast dissuaded and prevented others, who were disposed to believe; and thou hast tried to entice those away, who joined the congregation. Thou hast made thy jest of the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins. But know thou, that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the

* This is an Indian phrase, implying: According as the Great Spirit and Creator has directed, and appointed for me.

Creator of heaven and earth, became a man: *this is the truth*. He suffered, was tormented to death, and shed His precious blood for the remission of sins: *this is also the truth!* And unless thou obtain pardon of thy many and great sins, through faith in his blood, and thy heart be cleansed therewith, believe me, thou shalt, after death go straightway to hell, into everlasting perdition. And there thou wilt find cause to accuse no one, neither men nor God, who made thee, but *thyself, thyself* alone. Nor will thy living with us, as thou desirest, avail thee any thing; unless thou be pardoned and purified from thy sins by the precious blood of Christ, whose mercy thou must earnestly seek. Reflect upon this, and recollect what thou hast formerly heard from us christian Indians and our ministers."

The next day he was visited by the missionary Dencke, who spoke to him in the same earnest and faithful manner. Among other questions, he asked him, whether it were true, that he had been a murderer and sorcerer? To this he replied: "The former is a false accusation; and sorcery is a deceit of the devil; it is naught: of this I am now convinced." With many tears he lamented his past wicked life, and made so affecting a confession of his faith in Jesus, that all present were melted into tears; and the work of grace, wrought in his heart by the Holy Ghost, was made manifest in the most striking manner. Brother Dencke then explained to him, that the mere rite of baptism could avail him nothing, unless he experienced in his heart, through faith, the purifying power of the blood of Christ; whereupon he exclaimed, "I believe! I believe! Do ye also have pity on me!"

His repentance appearing truly sincere, and his earnest request for baptism to proceed from an ardent desire of receiving this rite as a seal of the forgiveness of his sins and of acceptance with God through the sacrifice of Jesus; he was baptized in the name of the holy Trinity, and called Leonard. All his former doubts and fears now vanished, he truly enjoyed the peace of God in his soul, and almost till he drew his last breath, on the morning of the 13th, continued in prayer day and night,

exalting the mercy of his Redeemer, and inviting all to come unto *Him*, that they might obtain pardon and remission of their sins. Addressing his countrymen he said: "Formerly I spoke evil words to you, when you shewed any desire to be converted, trying to dissuade you from it; forgive me for so doing, and follow my dying advice, which is, to forsake your wicked ways, or else you will be lost. Turn to your Saviour, and experience what I now feel, and you shall live."

"The solemnity attending this transaction" (write the missionaries) "may more easily be conceived than described, and will not soon be forgotten by those who witnessed it. The christian Indians were filled with joy and exclaimed, 'Onim our enemy is become our brother Leonard!' The conversion and death of this extraordinary man will speak volumes to the heart of his late hearers; and the impression, made thereby upon his heathen countrymen, cannot but, under God, prove highly favourable to the cause of the gospel *."

In this hope they were not disappointed. The latest intelligence from this mission, dated in July 1817, states, that a new awakening had taken place among the inhabitants of the settlement, which extended also to the children, and their separate meetings were distinguished by particular devotion and attention to the word of God. The remarkable conversion of Onim, had made a salutary impression, not only upon the Indians, but also upon many white people in that neighbourhood. Several heathen had been baptized, and some, baptized in infancy, had been solemnly received as members of the church. Thus the Lord was verifying unto them his promise: "*In all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee.*"

From the foregoing relation it appears, that the United Brethren have now continued their labours in propagating the gospel among the North American Indians for more than seventy years, and that at present they occupy

* Per. Acct. Vol. vi. p. 301—309.

three missionary stations, viz. NEW FARMFIELD in Canada, GOSHEN on the Muskingum and SPRING-PLACE in the country of the Cherokees. The success, which has hitherto attended their endeavours; may probably have disappointed the reader's expectation. Were strenuous exertions, indefatigable labour, patient perseverance, constant self-denial and devoted zeal sufficient to insure success, our missionaries might indeed have collected a greater number of converts, as the preceding pages supply ample proof, that they were not deficient in these qualifications. However, the blessing, which has accompanied their efforts, verifies the divine promise, *My word shall not return unto me void*; while their comparatively small success as clearly demonstrates, that *except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it*. Indeed the peculiar habits and roving disposition of the Indians, the frequent wars among themselves and the white people, and the introduction of the rum-trade, have always operated as strong barriers against the propagation of the gospel, and continue to throw impediments in the way of its converting influence, which nothing but omnipotent grace can conquer.

From a register of the Indian congregation, dated 1772, it appears, that the number of heathen, baptized by our brethren from the commencement of the mission to that time, amounted to seven hundred and twenty. Of the subsequent years no authentic records remain, as the church-books and other manuscripts were lost at the destruction of the settlements on the Muskingum, and likewise during the warlike commotions in latter years. At present the number of christian Indians, belonging to the three congregations of the Brethren, does probably not exceed two hundred. The missionaries indeed are not anxious to collect great numbers of nominal christians, but rather wish that those, whom they baptize, should give reasonable proof, that they truly desire to die unto sin and live unto righteousness.

It may not be altogether irrelevant to the subject, or uninteresting to the reader, before we close this chapter, to insert a short account of the other establishments of

the Brethren in North America. For, although they are not *missionary* settlements, yet their existence is of much importance, as affording great facilities for propagating the gospel among the heathen. Besides congregations in the towns of New York, Philadelphia, Lancaster, Newport in Rhode Island, Yorktown and other places; they have several regular settlements, or colonies of their own. The principal of these are, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Lititz, &c. in the state of Pennsylvania; Salem, Bethabara, Friedberg and others in North Carolina; and some smaller colonies in different parts of the country, as Gnadenhuetten on the Mahony, a colony of the same name, and Bersaba on the Muskingum, Bethel on the Swatara, &c. These settlements are inhabited by German and English colonists and their descendants, being members of the Brethren's church. Reference has been made to some of them in the preceding narrative.

The importance of these settlements in relation to the missionary labours of the Brethren is very considerable. Most of the brethren and sisters, employed in the instruction of the Indians, are selected from the inhabitants of these colonies. Having for a longer or shorter period been residents in the country, they have become in some degree acquainted with the character and customs of the people; among whom they are called to labour, and the peculiar difficulties attending missionary undertakings among the Indians, and are thus better qualified for the due discharge of their important calling. In the American Society for propagating the gospel among the heathen, which holds its regular meetings at Bethlehem, they have a band of faithful friends at hand, always ready to aid their exertions, assist them with their counsel, and sympathize with them, no less in the day of trial, than in the season of prosperity. An occasional visit to a christian congregation and intercourse with their brethren and sisters, though but for a few days, tends greatly to strengthen their hands in God, and endow them with renewed fortitude for encountering the hardships and dangers, unavoidably connected with their arduous office. If sickness, or increasing infirmities and old age disable them from further active labours, they

are sure of meeting in these settlements with a comfortable retirement in the midst of their former friends. Here are also institutions for the education of their children in literature and science, and for their instruction in manual labour, trade and business of various kinds.

The converted Indians themselves derive essential benefit from these establishments. They furnish them with occasional opportunities, when on a journey, of beholding the order, piety and devotion of a christian congregation. The good impression thereby made upon their minds, they carry home with them, and it serves to cherish among their believing countrymen a disposition to value the salutary regulations, introduced by the missionaries, in their own villages. Besides, these settlements have, at different times, offered a safe retreat to the christian Indians, when persecuted by their pagan countrymen, or suffering from the ravages of war*.

The facilities, afforded by these settlements to the missionary exertions of the Brethren, are not confined to the Indians, but extend to other heathen, equally needing the glorious light of the gospel to dispel their mental darkness. It is well known, that many thousand African Negroes live with the white settlers, especially in Carolina and Virginia. These poor people have for some years engaged the special attention of our Brethren, and the ministers of our church in different places have frequently visited and preached to them. Several have been baptized and admitted to communion with those of our congregations, in whose vicinity they reside. And the Brethren's Society (in North America) for propagating the gospel among the heathen, is perseveringly engaged in devising means and employing active measures, for enlarging its sphere of usefulness in this field of missionary labours.

In concluding the history of this eventful mission, the author gladly avails himself of the remarks contained in one of the letters from the Society, which has just

* See p. 136 and 146.

been mentioned, as the reflections, suggested in that letter, naturally arise from the peculiar circumstances of this mission. "It should appear, that Providence suffers our Indian brethren to wander about as a cloud of witnesses, so that they may justly be compared to a moveable net, and to leave working in secret. Though their fate seems hard and grievous, to be driven about like hunted deer; yet we may discern the wisdom of God in this: for, wherever this small flock of Jesus resides, it excites attention, and many heathen, moved by curiosity, inquire the cause of their wanderings, and their peculiar mode of living, not only separated from their friends and relations, but even suffering persecution from them; and ask, why they abhor war and bloodshed. In answer to these questions, they hear the gospel and the doctrine of the God of love and peace. This they do not easily forget; they bring it home with them, repeat it, either in levity or seriousness, to others, and thus the Spirit of God prepares many, in a way unknown to us, for conversion, of which we have had several joyful instances. When the great harvest of the Lord comes, we shall find that the sufferings of our Indians have brought much fruit to God and the Lamb. Till that wished-for period arrives, we will continue to water the seed sown, with our prayers and tears. And, beloved brethren, let us be steadfast, immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, for we know that our labour is not in vain in the Lord, though the world may count it so *."

* *Per. Acct.* Vol. i. 96.

CHAP. IV.

MISSION IN SOUTH AMERICA.

THE missionary labours of the United Brethren in South America have been hitherto confined to that part of this vast continent, which is known by the general name of *Guiana*. This territory lies on the northern coast, extending from the 4th to the 7th degree of north latitude. On this coast the Dutch, French and English have several possessions, the principal of which are *Surinam*, *Berbice*, *Demerary*, *Cayenne* and *Essequibo*. The climate is very unhealthy, being humid and sultry. The country is level, overgrown with impervious thickets and immense forests, the haunts of serpents and other venomous reptiles; and exposed to frequent inundations. The soil is uncommonly fertile, and vegetation so rapid, that several crops can be reaped in succession in a year. It is watered by several large rivers, near the mouths of which the European Colonies are formed, and from which they derive their names.

The inhabitants consist of European settlers and their descendants, called *White People*, of *Negro slaves*, imported from Africa for the cultivation of the land, and their descendants, who are called *Creoles*, and of *Free Negroes* who are runaway slaves, and who after various contests with the Dutch, were declared a free people, and now occupy several villages on the *Surinam*, south of the Dutch colonies. Besides these, the *Aborigines*, or original inhabitants of the country, must not be overlooked. They live dispersed through the woods and forests, and receive the general appellation of *Indians*, being divided into several tribes, of which the principal are, the *Arawaks*, *Waraus* and *Wacquais*. To these must be added the *Caribs*, who settled here after being expelled from the West Indies by the Europeans, and by their cruelties rendered themselves formidable to the native In-

dians, usurping a degree of authority over them. Each of these tribes has its own language.

Their chief subsistence is derived from the chase and fishing. Of vegetables they principally cultivate cassabi, of which they make a kind of bread. Their general habits and mode of living differ little from the manners of their brethren in North America. Of God and divine things their ideas are very limited. Their common notion is, that there exists one invisible powerful Being, the dispenser of all good; and likewise a no less mighty being, the author of every evil. They imagine they can destroy the influence of the latter by various necromantic tricks; and as they fear nothing from the former, they never think of performing any acts of reverence, or religious worship to secure his favour.

That part of Guiana, in which the settlements of the Brethren lie, was at the commencement of the mission in the possession of the Dutch, to whom, after changing masters for a short time during the late war, it was restored on the conclusion of peace.



THE late bishop of Spangenberg, (of whom mention was made in the preceding chapter,) on his way to England in 1784, passed through Holland. Here he had several consultations with the Directors of the Dutch Trading Company for Surinam, the result of which was, that the Brethren agreed to form one, or more colonies in that country, with a view to the conversion of the heathen. Agreeably to the arrangements then made, three brethren proceeded to Surinam the following year, and spent some time in Paramaribo, in order to inquire, on the spot, into the practicability and best mode of establishing a mission in that quarter of the globe. After their return to Europe, a gentleman in Amsterdam requested that some of them would settle on one of his plantations on the *Rio de Berbice* to preach the gospel to his Negroes. Considering this as a door opened to them for the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ, they

cheerfully acceded to his request and directed their first attention to the Negroes on his estates. But as their exertions were, in the sequel, extended to other parts of the coast, a brief relation of each of these shall now be given in separate sections.

SECTION I.

Pilgerhut on the Rio de Berbice.

IN consequence of the offer before stated, two of our brethren L. C. Daehne and J. Guettner, left Holland in June 1738, and arrived the following September in Berbice. As they brought strong recommendations with them from Holland, the stewards and managers of the estates suspected that they had been sent for the purpose of secretly inspecting their conduct; and on this account rendered their situation as unpleasant and difficult as possible. But God endowed them with faith and patience, and blessed the labour of their hands, so that they could support themselves without depending on the favor of the stewards, being content with very frugal fare. Their greatest grievance was, that their situation precluded the possibility of obtaining the principal object of their residence in the country. Unacquainted with the language of the slaves, they had not even a prospect of learning it, as the rigour with which these poor creatures were treated, rendered it extremely difficult to have any intercourse with them.

In the midst of this perplexity God himself provided for them. A gentleman of the Surinam Trading Company, without their solicitation, offered them a retired and tranquil residence on his estate. Thankful for this providential direction they moved to the place pointed out, where they took possession of a small tenement, and tilled a piece of ground, lying in the midst of the forest, at a distance of about a hundred miles from the sea-coast, and called it PILGERHUT. This gentleman likewise procured from the President of the Surinam Company in Holland a recommendation of our brethren of so favourable

a tenor, that the governor, who had hitherto been rather inimically disposed, found himself compelled to give them no further molestation.

Having thus obtained rest from without, they began to visit the Indians in that neighbourhood, some of whom understood a little Dutch. They soon gained the love and confidence of these good natured savages, who listened with apparent pleasure to the instructions, they endeavoured to give them concerning God, the Creator and Redeemer of man. But, as their ideas of God and divine things were exceedingly few and obscure, our brethren saw clearly that very little could be effected, till they had learned the language, and for the acquisition of this the necessary labour for their own support left them but little leisure. They, therefore, requested the directors of the mission, to send out a married couple, to manage the temporal concerns of their little settlement.

Meanwhile, our Brethren in Europe having gained a more correct knowledge of the Surinam Mission, and obtained a formal concession from the Surinam Company to establish a regular settlement on that river, five brethren were sent thither in the year 1739, and this company was further augmented the following year by the arrival of Fr. Regnier, M.D. and his wife. As they could not immediately purchase a piece of ground in an eligible situation, they endeavoured to rent a lodging in the town of Paramaribo. Here they became acquainted with a pious citizen, Abraham Boemper, who built a small house for them. Their whole establishment was very poor; but they lived together in peace and brotherly love; God blessed the labour of their hands, and notwithstanding their mean fare and the inconvenience of their dwelling, they did not suffer in their health, which they remarked as a particular providence, for in general the climate of Surinam is so injurious to the constitution of Europeans, that more than one half die almost immediately on their arrival. Their family devotions, were frequented by great numbers, among whom were many Jews. This excited observation, and through the machinations of their enemies they were strictly forbidden by the ecclesiastical and

civil authorities, to grant any strangers admission to their religious meetings. After some time they succeeded in purchasing a plantation, about a mile from the town, which they cultivated with their own hands and the assistance of three Negroes, whom Mr. Boemper lent them. Many white people again attended their family devotions and became convinced of the purity of their doctrine and the probity of their intentions. But, finding it impossible to attain the proper object of their calling in this place, they sold their land and premises and bought a small plantation on the river *Cottika*, where they lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the Indians. No permanent advantage, however, was gained by this removal. They could have very little intercourse with the Indians, their knowledge of the Arawak language was still extremely defective, their harmony was interrupted and dissensions arose among them. These circumstances led to the final relinquishment of this station in 1745. After this digression we now return to the settlement on the *Rio de Berbice*.

With a view to assist the missionaries in PILGERHUT, Henry Beutel and his wife went thither in 1739; and two years after, their number was further increased by the arrival, of John Grabenstein and his wife. The brotherly love prevailing among them, sweetened all their external hardships and poverty, and rendered them cheerful amidst their incessant manual labours*.

This circumstance, however, greatly retarded the progress of the mission with regard to its most important object, though PILGERHUT possessed many local advantages for attaining it. It was situate at some distance from other European settlements, many Indians resided in its neighbourhood, and the savages were continually travelling through the place, so that hardly a day passed, on which our missionaries were not visited by individuals or whole companies. But these favourable circumstances

* At that early period the directors of our missions were not able to make as comfortable a provision for the missionaries as at present, when not only our own congregations but many christians in other denominations take a liberal share in meeting the necessary expense attending this important work.

could be but little improved by them. Their number was too small to attend both to the temporal concerns of the colony, and the preaching of the gospel, which required not only a more perfect knowledge of the language of the heathen, but also frequent visits to them in their own habitations, and demanded their undivided time and attention. Both these difficulties were shortly after removed. For, when the establishment on the *Cottika* * was abandoned in 1745, two of the missionaries moved to PILGERHUT, and two brethren and their wives arrived with them from Europe. This accession of numbers enabled them more regularly to distribute the necessary labour in the mission, some attending chiefly to its temporal concerns, while others devoted themselves more especially to the work of the ministry.

About the same time a gentleman presented them with a mulatto boy, who assisted them in acquiring a more correct knowledge of the Arawak language; and being in the sequel converted to God, they found him of great use in their attempts to preach to the heathen, in which he served them as interpreter. They now made frequent visits among the savages, travelling a circuit of three hundred miles through a vast wilderness. These journeys were attended with great difficulties and dangers. They were obliged to carry their provisions with them, wade through broad and deep rivers, or hastily construct a raft to cross them, and often to spend the night in their hammocks, suspended from trees, in the midst of the forest. And, what was still more distressing, if they came to an Indian hut, and the men were not at home, the women, who were always terrified at the approach of white people, set up a great shriek and ran into the wood; and thus the missionary had in vain encountered all his past toils and fatigues. Not deterred by this, they persevered in their benevolent exertions, and their kind and affable deportment, by degrees, conciliated the affections and won the confidence of the savages.

Their mulatto boy now rendered them essential service.

* See page 238.

Assisted by him, they compiled a concise narrative of the life and sufferings of Christ, in the Arawak language, subjoining a brief summary of the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. This tract they took with them when visiting the Indians, read it to them and expatiated on its contents, accompanying their exhortations with fervent prayer. The mulatto youth himself now became a preacher of righteousness, and addressed the savages in so striking a manner, that they were powerfully affected, and circulated the news of the *great word* they had heard, among their countrymen.

Thus, after a residence in this country of nearly nine years, amidst many heavy trials, and without seeing any fruit from their labours, the time arrived, when, after having sown in tears, they were favoured to reap in joy. Towards the close of 1747 they had the satisfaction, so long and ardently prayed for, to perceive, that the divine Spirit was exciting a real hunger after the word of God among the Arawaks. They frequently visited them, burning with desire to hear more of Christ crucified. This inflamed the zeal of the missionaries to return their visits; and the very women, who had formerly fled on their approach, now became their guides through the wood, conducting them to those dwellings of the Indians, where they knew they would find eager hearers, passing by the huts of such as were disposed to mock and ridicule their endeavours. Wherever they came they met with a warm reception; all the inhabitants seated themselves around them, and listened to their discourse with the greatest silence and eagerness.

In March 1748 the first Arawak Indian obtained admission to the church of Christ by holy baptism. It was an old woman, decrepid with age and scarce able to walk. About forty of the savages were present at this solemn transaction, and it made such a deep impression upon them, that they were suffused in tears, and several men came the next day, and with importunity begged to be admitted to the same privilege. The change wrought in the baptized, which was visible in their very countenances and appeared in their whole conduct, no less than

their discourses with their friends had such an effect, that hardly a week passed, in which this sacred rite was not administered to one, or more, on their profession of faith in Jesus. Thus by the end of June the converts amounted already to thirty-nine, among whom were several venerable old people.

Many of those, who had been baptized, could not endure the thoughts of leaving the Brethren, and again returning to their former places of abode, and therefore requested permission to erect some huts on the land of the settlement, promising to cultivate a piece of ground in the neighbourhood for their support. Our missionaries the more joyfully acceded to this proposal, as by having their converts thus constantly near them, they would be better able to teach them to observe all things whatsoever Jesus hath commanded. This outweighed every consideration of the additional trouble and expense, unavoidably connected with this arrangement, as they must maintain all these people till the cassabi, sown on the new ground, was ready to reap; for the produce of their former fields had been, for the most part, stolen by the savages. By the end of the year, eighty Indians, including children, lived in the settlement.

Before our Brethren in Europe could receive any intelligence of this awakening, the directors of the missions had come to a resolution, to appoint a man of learning to superintend the establishment at PILGERHUT, conceiving that he would more easily acquire a knowledge of the language and other local circumstances. They found a person, well qualified and willing to undertake it, in Theoph. Sol. Schuman, late a tutor in the protestant cloister of Bergen in Saxony. He arrived in the country in the autumn of 1748, and in one year acquired such proficiency in the language, that he could speak with the natives without an interpreter, and translate several portions of the holy scriptures. He ended his useful and active life here, October 6th, 1760, after serving this and the other missionary institutions of the Brethren in Guiana, for twelve years, with indefatigable zeal and faithfulness, during which period he made two visits to Europe in concerns of the mission.

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While our missionaries were filled with joy and gratitude for the success attending their endeavours, and counted no difficulties and labours too hard, which might in any degree tend to further the noble cause in which they had embarked; the adversaries were not remiss in their attempts to oppose this growing work. Some white people, displeased with the conversion of the Indians, tried to make them jealous of the missionaries. And when this did not succeed, they insinuated that the numerous assemblies at PILGERHUT might tend to excite a rebellion, and that it would be wise in government positively to prohibit these meetings for the future.

However the governor, Mr. Loesner, paid no attention to these representations, but testified, on every occasion, the pleasure he felt in contemplating the blessing of God, which so evidently rested on the labours of our brethren. But it was not long before an unfavourable change took place in the government. Mr. Loesner received his dismissal, and though he most warmly recommended the mission to his successor, it soon appeared that this gentleman was not very favourably disposed. Shortly after his arrival he summoned the missionaries to appear before the council. On their appearance he read to them the orders of the directors in Amsterdam, requiring their taking a formal oath, adding, that, in case of refusal, he would send them back to Europe with the first ship. Brother Schuman answered, that as some of them had scruples of conscience against taking an oath, they would abide by the declaration made on their arrival in the country, and, in case of a breach of their simple affirmation, would consider themselves liable to the same penalty as if they had been guilty of perjury. Having replied to some other questions, and remonstrated, with modesty and firmness, against several restrictions, intended to be imposed on their labours; their adversaries were silenced, and it was finally resolved, that their simple affirmation should be accepted instead of an oath.

The enemies of the mission, who for some time had rather too loudly expressed their joy at its approaching destruction, finding themselves thus unexpectedly disap-

pointed, again resorted to their former contrivance, and endeavoured to render the Indians suspicious of the missionaries, by insinuating that they would make them slaves. But though the idea of slavery was more formidable to these people than death itself, they were so firmly persuaded of the love and affection of their teachers, that the white people effected nothing by these base insinuations *. Thus the missionaries enjoyed a season of rest and tranquillity, and the number of the congregation was gradually increased.

In the beginning of the year 1750 a deputation of eleven savages arrived at PILGERHUT from the Spanish possession on the river Oronoco. These people had been visited by one of the christian Indians, and his discourse had made such an impression upon their minds, that they now came to hear the *great word* from the missionaries themselves. Their embassy led to the result, that in the sequel several pagans from that territory (a distance of about eight or ten days' journey) settled at PILGERHUT and embraced the gospel. A visit, made by some of the converts to their relatives on the river *Corentyn*, was followed by consequences equally pleasing. Their testimony of the grace they had experienced, excited the astonishment of their friends, who sent a deputation of seven men to PILGERHUT to inquire what the good news was, which the missionaries announced to the Indians in the name of their Creator. Before the end of the year several companies, consisting of fifteen or twenty persons, came from those parts to settle at PILGERHUT. Our Brethren remark: "It is impossible to behold these people without deep emotion. There are some very aged persons among them, who have come hither on crutches, a journey of four or five days. They have left a district, where they had abundance of provisions, and now are satisfied with a very small pittance, that they may daily hear of Jesus. Without reckoning those, who occasionally visit us, there

* A clergyman, whom Schuman visited some time after, candidly owned, that he had written several things to the council and to Holland against the Brethren, but having now gained a more accurate knowledge of them, he was resolved to take Gamaliel's advice, Acts v. 38. He ever after kept his promise.

are now three hundred belonging to our congregation, of whom two hundred live in the settlement."

Scarce had they been enlivened by this pleasing progress of the mission, when new troubles broke out. Their enemies at home and abroad, were still secretly plotting the ruin of their establishment. One of the directors of the company arrived from Holland, with unlimited powers to regulate every thing agreeably to the supposed advantage of the trade. This gentleman lent a willing ear to the complaints, which were made, that the endeavours of the missionaries for the conversion of the Indians were injurious to the interests of the company. In November brother Schuman was summoned before him and the governor. The former in an imperious tone demanded, that the missionaries should not draw the Indians to their settlement, but let them live dispersed in the woods, that they should clothe their converts, and pay a personal tax for them, equivalent to that charged on the white people. He more particularly insisted, that the Indians should be required to lend their services to the Dutch colony, and that the missionaries should be compelled to take the oath prescribed, perform military duty, and appear on the parade. To every one of these demands Schuman replied in so satisfactory and convincing a manner, that the conscience of the director was touched, and he remarked, not without considerable emotion: "that he knew the Brethren were quiet, peaceable, and regular people, but that he was not authorized to exempt them from bearing arms and taking oaths. If his superiors in Holland would grant them a dispensation from these duties, he would not only make no objections, but assist them as far as he could, and allow them eight months in order to refer their petition to the mother-country." He dismissed Schuman with expressions of kindness: and a few days after was suddenly removed by death.

The vexations of the missionaries, however, did not terminate here. Once the governor sent some soldiers to PILGERHUT, who forcibly compelled two of the christian Indians to serve in the colony. This so terrified the rest, that many of them fled into the wilderness: by de-

grees, however, they all returned. When new missionaries arrived in 1751, they were again commanded to take an oath, and those who had scruples of conscience on this point, were obliged to return with the ship to Europe. This greatly increased the labours of those who remained, especially as one of them, after six years faithful service, departed this life much about the same time.

For several years no further impediments were thrown in the way of their operations. Their plain, but zealous, testimony of the death and resurrection of Jesus had a mighty influence in convincing the heathen of sin, and establishing their converts in the obedience of faith. The visits of savages from distant regions still continued, and through them the knowledge of the gospel was widely diffused. Many came and took up their residence at PILGERHUT; among whom were some of the rudest and most ferocious tribe, considered even by the Arawaks as the greatest barbarians, for they feast upon the flesh of those whom they have taken and killed in war. But the word of the cross tamed these tigers in human shape, and changed their ferocity into the meekness of the lamb.

The congregation increased both in number and grace. This its members evidenced both by a walk and conversation consistent with their christian profession, and by the simple utterances of their hearts, when feelingly describing the change wrought in them by divine grace, and their desire to press forward to the mark set before them. Thus one of them, desirous of writing to our Brethren in Europe, dictated the following: "Having arrived at manhood, I spent many years without any knowledge of my Saviour. When I afterwards became desirous to experience what I heard, it was granted me. Jesus has cleansed me in his blood, and delivered me from my *disobedience* *. This truth, that he died and shed his blood for me, hath conquered and captivated my heart: this I can never forget; and therefore will I love him with all my soul, and daily give my whole heart to him. I fervently pray, that

* In the Arawak language there is no other term for sin, but *disobedience*, and this perfectly accords with scripture. Rom. v. 19.

he may keep me, and never suffer me to stray from him, or lose the impression of his death and sufferings. His love to me is astonishingly great, therefore hath he drawn me to himself." Another expressed himself thus: "I love my Creator with my whole heart, and I rejoice that when I leave this earth, I shall go to him, and worship at his feet, who hath washed me from my sins in his own blood. He gives me eternal life. He knows my heart. I had gone astray from him; but he appeared and took away my polluted, evil and flinty heart, and gave me a heart of flesh: for his blood hath purified and softened it. It remains indelibly impressed on my mind that he has shed his blood for me. He hath granted me the grace, that I can leave this world in assured hope, and full of joy go to him and behold him as he is." In this confident expectation of eternal glory the missionaries saw several of their converts quit this stage of life; the fear of death, so natural to them in their pagan state, being completely vanquished by the faith and hope of immortality.

Another circumstance, which greatly promoted the prosperity of the mission, was, that about this time several of the converts were sufficiently advanced in knowledge, and prepared by the Spirit of God, to assist in the preaching of the gospel. These assistants afforded our missionaries essential service, especially in visiting and discoursing with the savages, and likewise in accompanying their christian countrymen, when going out to hunt or fish or till their fields, which lay at some distance in the woods. On these occasions pretty large parties used to go together and be several days, or even weeks, away from the settlement. The assistant, who accompanied them, kept daily meetings for prayer and exhortation, endeavoured to preserve good order and maintain brotherly love among them, and reported to the missionaries, that thus as far as possible, every thing might be averted which might tend to injure the cause of the gospel. They had now within the space of eight years, since God began visibly to bless their labours, baptized three hundred and sixty-seven persons, of whom forty-eight had died. At the close of the year 1756 there lived at PILGERHUT two hundred and thirty-three

persons, besides some children not yet baptized, and reckoning those, who resided in the neighbourhood, the whole number amounted to upwards of three hundred.

This hopeful progress of the work was slightly threatened about this time, by a request made by the new governor, M. Van Ryswyk, that they should send all those christian Indians away, who belonged to the Berbice territory. But upon proper representation, that not one in ten of those, who lived in the settlement, had come from that territory, and that they never wished to interfere with the affairs of the Dutch colony, he withdrew this demand, commended their benevolent exertions, and ever after acted towards them as a friend.

Under these favourable auspices they and their flock of converted Indians began the year 1757 with joy and thanksgiving, happily unconscious of the heavy sufferings, which a God, infinitely wise and righteous in all his works, in the sequel permitted to assail them, doubtless to try their faith and constancy. The wife of brother Schuman having unexpectedly departed this life, while he was at Paramaribo on concerns of the mission, he found it necessary to visit Europe in 1758. Thus PILGERHUT was left without an ordained minister, and the two missionaries, who resided there, and had hitherto assisted in the ministry, did not think themselves authorized to baptize or dispense the Lord's Supper. And an ordained minister, who was expected from North America, did not arrive, as he could find no ship bound for Surinam. This of necessity proved injurious to the spiritual course of the congregation. To add to their discouragements, a contagious disease broke out the following year, and raged for many months, spreading consternation and death through the whole country. Not less than forty of the christian Indians died within one year, and as numbers had left the settlement, and many of those who remained were confined by illness, divine service was often attended by no more than ten or twelve. This distress was further augmented by a dearth of provisions in the Berbice territory.

When brother Schuman returned in the spring of 1760,

he found the congregation greatly diminished, and the whole country in the most deplorable situation. Nearly one half of the Dutch colonists, and also the governor had been carried off by the prevailing epidemic. His arrival, however, revived the faith and zeal of the missionaries, and diffused new life through the congregation. But their joy was of short duration; for in less than six months after his return, it pleased the Great Head of his church to call this his faithful servant into eternal rest. His removal appeared an irreparable loss to the mission; and the wound, inflicted by this event, was opened afresh, a few weeks after, when two active young brethren who had come with him from Europe, likewise finished their earthly pilgrimage.

The contagion still raged with unabating violence, and the famine became so general, and rose to such a pitch, that the Indians for months had nothing to sustain life but wild roots and fruits. The missionaries indeed obtained a scanty supply from Paramaribo; but their fare was exceedingly frugal, and no doubt occasioned the frequent attacks of illness, from which they suffered. In consequence of these calamities, PILGERHUT was almost deserted, and this settlement, which a couple of years before, contained nearly four hundred inhabitants, was at the end of 1762 reduced to twenty-two.

Still our brethren were determined not to abandon their post, but, in hope of better times, patiently to persevere in their labours. Towards the end of February 1763, however, an event occurred, which would have rendered it the height of presumption to remain any longer in PILGERHUT. In the night preceding the first of March and the following day they were alarmed by the discharge of cannon, and in the evening they received authentic intelligence, that all the Negroes had risen in rebellion, murdered several white people, and obliged the rest to fly.

The insurgents had already cut off all communication with the Fort by land and water. The next day, hearing that the rebels were within a few miles of the settlement, they resolved to proceed without loss of time to *Demary*.

They effected their escape by water in two companies; the missionaries Beutel and his wife, and Climan, together with the widow Bambay, still remaining at PILGERHUT, in order, if possible, to retain possession of it. But for the sake of safety, they spent the night in the wood. The fugitives encamped in a thick forest on the banks of a small river, about nine miles from PILGERHUT. Of the subsequent events, Beutel, one of those who had remained in the settlement, gives the following relation:

“ March 5th I went to *Matare* to learn the disposition of the Negroes towards us. They told me, that *they* would not harm us, well knowing that the Brethren had not done *them* any hurt; but they could not be answerable for the more embittered Negroes, who threatened to murder *all* the white people, and intended to come to PILGERHUT that day. On receiving this intelligence we penetrated farther into the wood, and encamped there. Here we were visited by seven Negroes, whose looks were rather savage: but they departed in peace, after taking our two best guns, promising not to injure us, as we were *good* people. We, however, thought it most prudent now to join the rest of our brethren. Upon this some of us immediately proceeded to Demarary, where they met with a kind and hospitable reception from the inhabitants. I and Climan and Vester went once more to the settlement to fetch away such of our things, as had not been taken by the Negroes, and on the 2nd of April commenced our final emigration.

Having, at length, arrived at Demarary, Mr. Finnet very kindly provided us with the necessary accommodations on his estate: and the christian Indians, who came with us, likewise found here the needful means of support.”

During this insurrection the Fort had been burnt, and the whole country laid waste. Our Brethren lost property to a very considerable amount; but they regretted nothing so much as the loss of the Arawak Grammar and Dictionary, which had been compiled with immense labour by the late brother Schuman.

Thus terminated the once flourishing mission on the Rio de Berbice. Most of the missionaries returned to Europe; and Climan and Vester, who still remained in Demarary, shortly after finished their earthly career. The few Indian converts, who had come with them from PILGERHUT went in the sequel to the settlement, which had been begun a few years before, in the territory of Surinam *.

SECTION II.

Sharon on the Saramacca.

THE reader will recollect that the establishment, begun by our Brethren in the territory of Surinam on the river Cottika, was abandoned in 1745. However, the idea of commencing a mission in this district was not entirely relinquished, and events soon occurred, which rendered it very desirable to make new efforts in these parts. The land belonging to PILGERHUT was found insufficient for the maintenance of the many christian Indians who resided there. This led to their frequent dispersion, which proved detrimental to their progress in christian knowledge and practice. The directors of our missions, being desirous to remove these impediments, sent two brethren, C. Daehne, (who had been in the country before but had returned to Europe) and Mark Ralfs to Paramaribo, for the purpose of inquiring into the practicability of forming one or more missionary settlements in the territory of Surinam. They arrived on the last day of the year 1754, hired a private lodging, and worked at their trades, with a view to watch a favourable opportunity for effecting their purpose. Through the friendly interference of Mr. Loesner, they found in the present governor, Van der Meer, a kind friend and benefactor, who was willing to promote their design. They had, however, to wait till the year 1756, before they could obtain the consent of the government in Holland, together with a renewal of those privileges, which had been conceded to the Brethren in 1740.

* For a more detailed account of the events related in this Section, see, Risler's Select Narratives, Part II. Sec. 3. p. 15—96.

Every needful preparation being thus made, two married missionaries, who had formerly resided in the country and understood the language, together with five unmarried brethren, left Holland and arrived in Surinam in November. They were accompanied by Nicholas Garrison, formerly a sea-captain, who had volunteered his services, to navigate the rivers and assist in surveying the land granted to them. They entered upon this business before the end of the month, and succeeded in surveying and laying out a considerable tract of land for two settlements, the one on the river Corentyn, and the other on the Sarameca. The hardships and dangers, attending this undertaking were almost incredible, but God helped them often in the most wonderful manner.

When they arrived in the mouth of the Corentyn, Grabenstein, one of the missionaries grew so ill, that they were obliged to sail up the river with all possible expedition to bring him to the house of the postmaster, where he expired in a few days. Capt. Garrison, though he had made many long and perilous voyages, was often thrown into the greatest perplexity. He writes himself, "when we reached the mouths of rivers, with which I was totally unacquainted, we were frequently in the most imminent danger of suffering shipwreck, and of losing our provisions and every thing else on board. That we escaped these disasters, I ascribe not to my own skill, nor to any human aid, for there was none within our reach, but to the invisible agency of divine Providence. All the brethren, except Daehne and myself, were sick. Our difficulties were not a little increased, as we had to transact our business in the rainy season, which this year was uncommonly severe. In measuring the land we had constantly to wade in water, and more than once Daehne and I spent forty-eight hours in heavy rain in a small canoe."

Amidst many and great difficulties, and by means of indefatigable exertions, they succeeded in taking possession of a large piece of land, capable of supplying a numerous congregation of Indians with the means of subsistence, as the soil was very fertile, and fit for the cultivation of sugar, coffee, cocoa, cotton, &c. besides cassabi,

which is their daily food. Early in spring 1747, our Brethren began to build, and plant, and called the place SHARON.

Desirable as the situation of the new settlement was, its erection was in the beginning attended with various difficulties. In consequence of their incessant labours in building houses and improving the land, the missionaries fell sick one after the other. For five or six months they could reap nothing from their own plantations, and the Indians, residing with them, were as yet too few in number to obtain much by the chase, or by fishing. They were under the necessity of procuring most of their provisions from Paramaribo, and, till they got a boat of their own, this was not easy, for the Negroes who carried them, had to cross an extensive swamp, where, in the rainy season, they were obliged to wade up to the middle in water. In the sequel they obtained a little sloop of their own, and some of the Indians were always found willing to go with her and fetch provisions. On one of these voyages, as they were returning to SHARON, a Spanish ship, cruising along the coast, sent a boat to their vessel to plunder; but one of the Indians, who could speak Spanish, answered their questions with great freedom, adding "you must take none of these things; they belong to the Brethren on the Sarameca, who teach us the way of salvation; they want these things, and our Creator knows and sees all you are doing." These remarks, flowing from the lips of an Indian, reached the consciences of these rude people, and they returned to their ship without taking any thing.

Our missionaries considered themselves more than compensated for all their external trials, by the hopeful prospect, that a numerous congregation of believing Indians would be collected in this settlement. Among its first inhabitants, who had come from PILGERHUT and other places, grace, simplicity and brotherly love prevailed, and the work of the Spirit of God evidenced itself in young and old; even the children not excepted. Visits from the neighbouring heathen likewise became very frequent, among whom were many of the Carribbee tribe.

These came in companies of from ten to twenty at a time, and listened with eagerness to the conversation of the missionaries and their assistants. Several, after a short time returned, took up their abode at SHARON, and received the seed of the word in a good and honest heart, bringing forth the fruits of righteousness; and others, who could not be admitted into the settlement, formed small colonies in the vicinity.

Suddenly, however, this bright prospect was darkened by a gathering storm. The establishment of the Brethren on the Sarameca was exceedingly disliked by the Bush-Negroes, who lived in the adjacent woods, and whose habitations were safe asylums for run-away Negro-slaves. But the flight of the latter was rendered very difficult by the many villages, now building by the Caribbees on the Sarameca, and who lay in wait for the fugitives, as government allowed them fifty florins for every slave they seized. The Bush-Negroes, therefore, resolved to destroy SHARON, hoping thus to compel the Indians to leave the country. Some of these marauders were occasionally seen lurking about the settlement, but they precipitately retreated into the woods on discovering any Caribbees, of whom they stood greatly in awe. They however watched their opportunity, and having received certain information that all the Caribbees had emigrated, in consequence of a scarcity of provisions, a number of them advanced towards SHARON, lying for some days concealed in the woods. On Sunday, January the 25th, 1761, as the congregation was returning from divine service, the Negroes sallied forth, and with a hideous noise commenced an attack, using both fire-arms, and bows and arrows. They killed three aged Indians in their huts and took eleven prisoners, but were afraid to approach the mission-house, as they observed persons with guns stationed in the inside. They therefore placed themselves behind trees, from whence they fired at the house, whereby one of the missionaries was wounded in the arm. Our brethren, however, maintained their post, till the enemies succeeded in setting fire to the premises. In making their escape, one had his forehead slightly grazed by an arrow. The Negroes did not pur-

sue them, but having plundered the settlement, retreated with precipitancy, afraid of an attack from the Caribbees, some of whom were now returning. Our fugitive missionaries went first to the plantations on the *Coropina*, and then proceeded to Paramaribo. Thither they were accompanied by some of their converts, the rest took refuge in EPHRAIM and other places.

The missionaries, Schirmer and Clive, with a company of Indians, soon returned to SHARON, and, as no immediate danger was to be apprehended from the Bush-Negroes, others followed in a short time. For the sake of greater security, the governor sent an officer with fourteen men to the settlement; but their presence proved no edification to the Indians, and was attended with many inconveniencies. In other respects too the situation of our brethren was extremely distressing. The house, they inhabited, was in a most ruinous state: frogs and toads crawled on the floor, and bats and other creatures took possession of the roof, which was but imperfectly covered. They were frequently in want of the necessaries of life; and the few Indians, living with them, being often sick, were consequently unable to hunt, or fish, or fetch provisions; and the soldiers took the fruits of their plantations without ceremony. For several weeks both missionaries were so ill, that they could not leave their hammocks, and had nothing to live upon but bread and water. Towards the end of the year, however, their courage was considerably strengthened by the arrival of three missionaries from Europe; but how inscrutable are the counsels of God! Two of them departed this life a few days after their arrival, and in less than twelve months two of the survivors likewise entered into the rest, which remains for the people of God.

Hitherto the christian Indians, alarmed by false reports of meditated attacks from the Negroes, had often fled into the forests, and, being thus deprived of the instruction of the missionaries, were rather declining in their religious profession. But by the grace of God they were brought to serious reflection, and in the year 1762 most of them returned, and with penitent tears besought their

teachers to take them anew into their care. This request, which was most readily granted, served to animate the zeal of our brethren, and revive their fainting hopes.

Thus SHARON once more assumed the appearance of a promising station, and its Indian inhabitants, about sixty in number, enjoyed peace and rest, and walking in the comforts of the Holy Ghost, were edified. And, peace being established between the government and the Bush-Negroes, our missionaries indulged the pleasing hope, that many of the Arawaks, who had formerly been baptized, but scattered in the wilderness during the late troubles, would now return. In this hope, however, they were disappointed; for the fear entertained by the Indians of the Negroes rather increased after peace had been made. For, in spite of their professions of friendship, their conduct, when visiting SHARON, was not the most conciliatory. Besides, some secret enemies tried by false reports to terrify the Arawaks still more, hoping thus to accelerate the ruin of the mission. Many of the inhabitants left the settlement and fled into the woods. But as their dwellings were soon occupied by others, the missionaries did not relax in their exertions, and both by their instructions at home, and by frequent visits through the country, endeavoured to diffuse the glad tidings of grace and redemption through the blood of Christ.

It was not long, however, before they were threatened with new dangers from the Negroes, which seemed to render the occupancy of SHARON, as a missionary settlement, very precarious. Besides this, vast swarms of large ants had almost totally destroyed their plantations, and thus deprived them of the principal means of subsistence. These and other circumstances led to the final relinquishment of this station in 1779.

A few years before brother Schirmer had departed this life and entered into the joys of his Lord, after having for the space of fourteen years endured hardness as a good soldier of Christ on this difficult post. In October, 1776, brother Christopher Lewis Schuman, son of the late missionary of that name, arrived at SHARON, principally

with a view of devoting himself to the service of the Caribbees. His attempts in this respect, however, proved unsuccessful; but he zealously served the mission in many other ways*.

SECTION III.

Hope on the Corentyn.

IN order to take possession of the land surveyed on the river Corentyn, as mentioned in the preceding section, Brother Daehne went thither in April 1757, accompanied by a few Indians, who assisted him in clearing a piece of ground and building a hut, but in a short time they all went away except one, called Christopher, and even he, falling sick a few months after, was obliged to return to his friends. Thus our missionary was left alone in this horrid wilderness, the haunt of tigers, serpents of enormous size, and various reptiles, whose bite or sting is venomous. He had not been long here, before he was seized with a fever; but by the timely assistance of brother Schuman, who had a slight knowledge of medicine, and who immediately hastened to his relief, he recovered.* An account of the hardships and dangers he encountered in this solitary abode, as well as of the almost miraculous preservation of his life, will be read with the greatest interest in his own words.

“The Indians,” says he, “who were continually passing by, often inquired into the reason of my building a hut in this lonesome place; whether I did it by my own,

* For a more extensive account of Sharon, see Rialer, Part ii. Sec. 3. p. 97—108, & 127—135, & 148—160.

† Schuman remarks concerning him: “Daehne reminds me of the old patriarchs, dwelling in tents, e. g. Abraham living at the oak in Mamre, and he experiences the protection and care of the Angel, who visited Abraham in his tent. I have never seen him so cheerful and happy, as he is in this solitude.” [Rialer, Part ii. Sec. 3. p. 110.]—Another of his brethren says of him: “Daehne can endure every hardship, like an Indian. He is indefatigable in the cause of our Saviour; and has a perfect knowledge of every thing requisite for the improvement and cultivation of land.” Ibid. p. 118.

or the governor's authority? I told them, I did ~~it~~ for their sakes, to make them acquainted with the true God, and only Saviour. They answered, 'the Indians have determined to kill you.' At length, the soldiers at the Fort sent me word that I was not safe, and invited me to come and live near them. I thanked them for their care; but determined to stay where I might be favoured to gain, if it were but one soul for Christ.

"One evening, being unwell and going to lie down in my hammock, upon entering the door of my hut, I perceived a large serpent descending upon me from a shelf near the roof. In the scuffle, the creature stung, or bit me two or three times in the head, and pursuing me very closely, twined herself several times round my head and neck *. Supposing, that this would be the occasion of my departing this life, I, for the satisfaction of my brethren, wrote the cause of my death in a few words with chalk upon the table: 'a serpent has killed me;' lest they should charge the Indians with the deed. But, on a sudden, that promise of our Saviour to his disciples was impressed upon my mind, 'They shall take up serpents, and it shall not hurt them,' (Mark xvi. 18;) and, seizing the creature with great force, I tore her loose, and flung her out of the hut. I then laid down to rest in the peace of God.

"There was also a tiger, who for a long time kept near my hut, watching, perhaps an opportunity to seize upon its inhabitant. He roared dreadfully every evening; but I made a large fire near the hut, before I went to bed; however, as my fire often went out, it would have been but a poor defence, if the Lord had not protected me.

"In November, the Caribbee Indians resolved to put their threats against me into execution. One day, as I sat at dinner, about fifty of them arrived in canoes, and surrounded my hut. This was indeed a frightful sight.

* Probably one of those serpents, which, though their bite is not poisonous, by twisting themselves tightly round the body of their prey, break its bones, and thus quickly extinguish life.

Some were armed with swords, others with tomahawks. I immediately went out to them, and bid them welcome in the Arawak language. They answered in a surly tone, saying, I should speak the Caribbee language. I told them I could not speak it. Upon this they began to speak with each other, every now and then addressing me, to find out whether I understood them or not. Perceiving that I did not even guess their meaning, they called their Arawak interpreter, and asked me, who had given me leave to build on their land. I answered, 'the governor; and that I had a writing under his own hand to prove what I said.' They then asked, what views I had in coming hither? Upon this, I went up to their Chief, and said, with great freedom, 'I have brethren on the other side of the great ocean, who, having heard that many Indians live on this river, who are ignorant of their Creator, out of love to the Indians, have sent me hither, to tell you of your Creator's love to you, and what he has done to save you; and more of my brethren will come hither for the same purpose.' He asked, 'whether I was a clergyman, a Frenchman, or a Dutchman?' I answered, 'I came from Holland, but was sent by my brethren, who loved them, and wished to do them good.' He then said, 'Have you never heard, that the Indians intend to kill you?' I answered, 'yes; but I cannot believe it. You have among your Indians some, who have lived with me, and they can tell you that I am a real friend of the Indians.' 'Yes,' replied he, 'I have heard so; and they say, that you are another sort of christian, than the white people in general are.' I then said, 'I am your friend; how is it that you are come to kill me?' He answered, 'We have done wrong.' Upon this every countenance seemed altered, and the party dispersed. The Chief remained with me, and inquired whether other people would come to live here; and, when I assured him that none but my brethren would come, he was pleased, and behaved very kindly. When he was going away, I perceived that he had some cassabi in his pouch. I asked him for it, as his people could get more, and I was here alone, and in want; adding, 'If you should at any time pass by, and be hungry, I will also give you something to eat.' He immediately gave orders to give me some cassabi, some fish,

and drink, and then took leave, saying he would often come to see me. Thus our Saviour delivered me from them, and preserved me amidst daily and great dangers; so that at the close of the year, I had cause to thank and adore him in the dust:

“ I entered into the year 1758 with a confident heart, and felt the presence and peace of God in all my walk and ways. I was busily employed in clearing the ground, and felling trees; and when I was weary, frequently desired the Indians, who were passing by, to lend a helping hand, which they did with pleasure. Once, while gathering wood for fuel, some large black ants fixed upon my hand, and by their stings gave me such excruciating pain that I was almost senseless for some time. These creatures are nearly two inches long, and quite black. The Indians are as much afraid of them as of serpents. As to externals, this was for me a year of great want. I frequently rose in the morning, without knowing whether I should taste a morsel all day; but God ordered it so, that sometimes when I could scarce bear the excess of hunger, some Indians arrived, who were willing to divide their mouthful of cassabi with me *.”

During the following year he was occasionally visited by Warau Indians, which afforded him an opportunity of preaching the gospel to them; and this always animated him afresh to labour in hopes of better times. Some of them also promised to come and live with him. In consequence of his incessant bodily labours, which were often beyond his strength, he was attacked with sickness, which was increased by the insalubrity of the climate and his mean and scanty fare. His fellow missionaries, in Paramaribo being informed of it, immediatly dispatched brother Boemper to his assistance. He set out by way of Mepenna, but for a considerable time could not get an Indian to take him in his boat, as they are in general afraid of going near a sick person, and especially because a report had been circulated, that the devil lived with Daehne. They therefore did all they could to dissuade

* *Per. Acct.* Vol. i. p. 327—331.

brother Boemper from venturing to go to so dangerous a person. However he prevailed at length and arrived with him to his great comfort, and his health was soon restored.

Having spent nearly two years in this solitary abode, he was in 1759 relieved by three missionaries. These built a church and dwelling-house, and laid out plantations, giving the name of EPHRAIM to the new settlement. They diligently visited those Indians, who, after leaving PILGERHUT, had become residents in this part of the country; and some of them came to live in the settlement. Many Caribbees and Waraus also visited them; and they had the pleasure to observe, that their testimony of Christ and his salvation evidenced its divine power on the Indians, whose tears manifested the emotion of their hearts. This encouraged them, amidst many external difficulties and hardships, to labour in hope.

But their faith and patience were put to a fresh trial. The rebellion of the Negro-slaves in Berbice, in 1763, rendered the whole country along the banks of the Corentyn unsafe, and forced their converts to retire into the interior. After awaiting the issue for some time, the missionaries removed to Paramaribo, and their house was occupied by soldiers. The rebellion of the Negroes being suppressed in 1764, they returned to their post. They found their former dwelling nearly in ruins; and as the situation of EPHRAIM was very unhealthy, being frequently exposed to inundations, they abandoned that place, and moved about twelve miles higher up the river. Here they found a piece of land well suited for plantations, and a good house, which had been built for a magazine. This they purchased of government, and after making some needful alterations, moved into it in 1765. Its situation at no great distance from the river Mepenna, whither most of the Indian converts had fled during the disturbances, induced the hope that many of their scattered sheep would again be collected, and restored to the fold of the good shepherd, and in this expectation they gave it the name of HOPE*.

* In Dutch *Hoop*, by which name it is often mentioned in the reports of the missionaries.

In process of time many of those Indians, who had been baptized by the Brethren, found their way to this new settlement. They erected huts for themselves, and laid out their fields, at a convenient distance. Some of them indeed had grown rather wild, yet the remembrance of the grace they had formerly enjoyed, was not totally obliterated, and being now revived by the instruction of the missionaries, a pleasing change was soon effected. The brethren also neglected no opportunity of informing the other Indians of their residence in the country, and inviting them to come and hear the word of God. They likewise paid occasional visits to the heathen, some of whom embraced the gospel and were added to the church. Thus the congregation at HOPE continued, for several years, in a pleasing course; and though the increase in point of number was not considerable, yet the grace of God was often strikingly experienced. At the close of the year 1783 the number of christian Indians, belonging to the settlement, amounted to one hundred and sixty seven persons*.

During subsequent years the prospect became rather discouraging. The naturally roving disposition of the Indians, which had always been a great impediment to the mission, gained fresh ascendancy. At one time no less than twenty men of the baptized left HOPE, and removed to a considerable distance, and those, who still remained, spent most of their time in their planting-grounds, and were often four, eight, and even twelve weeks absent from church; nor was it always possible to visit them. This was of necessity injurious to their progress in christian knowledge, and practice; many in fact seemed to lose the little they had obtained, and sunk into a state of supineness and indifference to the gospel. Few of the savages paid any regard to the instructions of the missionaries, and the Arawak nation was rapidly decreasing in number, many being carried off by the small-pox, and other epidemical diseases.

This was the state of things at HOPE in 1789, when

* See Risler's Select Narratives.

brother John Jacob Gottlob Fischer arrived there. He appeared remarkably qualified to labour among a people like the Indians. Endowed with a vigorous constitution and an active and enterprising mind, improved by study, he was capable of enduring much bodily fatigue, and of devising and executing plans for the mental improvement of the converts. With astonishing facility, he acquired, in a few months, sufficient knowledge of the Arawak language, to preach in public; and even earlier than this, he had commenced a school with the children, in which he taught reading and writing; and in a short time one of the boys made such progress, that he could be employed in copying, and could assist in teaching the rest. In a few weeks he had thirty scholars, who were eager to learn; and those parents, who lived at a distance, permitted their children to remain in the settlement, that they might obtain instruction. The zeal, with which he engaged in this and other schemes, animated the sinking courage of the other missionaries. He hoped by these means to infuse more steadiness and activity into the character of the Arawaks, thereby rendering them more susceptible of moral and intellectual improvement, and thus to facilitate their advancement in spiritual knowledge*.

In order to induce the christian Indians to forsake their roving disposition, which they always excused by alleging the infertility of the soil on the Corentyn, Fischer went to a neighbouring Chief on the *Aulibissi* Creek, where there was good planting-ground, to inquire whether he would permit the Indians of HOPE to plant in his territory. He immediately consented and, pointing to a considerable tract of forest-land, said: "This land God has given to me, as he gave that at HOPE to thee, and thus I am the rightful possessor of it. Now, as I have not created it, and thou canst use it, I freely deliver it over to thee; and thy people may come and clear it as soon as they please." He then in very kind terms, addressed the Indians in brother Fischer's company, assuring them that no devil, or evil spirit, haunted the land † In conse-

* Brethren's History, Vol. iii. p. 313. † Per. Acct. Vol. i. p. 160.

quence of these arrangements, several families built huts in the settlement, so that in 1793 it contained one hundred and fifty-one inhabitants; besides whom about one hundred baptized Arawaks lived scattered in the vicinity. New life from God was also visible in the congregation.

As this appears to have been the most flourishing period in the mission at HOPE; some remarks, may very properly be introduced in this place, on the settlement and the improvement of its Indian inhabitants in the arts of civilized society. The superintendent of the South American mission, at that time, brother Hans Wied, gives the following description of the settlement in the year 1794.

“HOPE is situated on the left bank of the Corentyn, as you ascend from the sea. The opposite bank is high and sandy; but on this side the soil is loamy and not very fruitful. The woods are rendered almost impenetrable by an immense quantity of Busch-Tau, except where paths have been cut by the natives. In the neighbourhood of the settlement the wood is cut down and rooted up; and plantations of coffee, bananas, and cotton, as likewise a considerable portion of pasture-ground, amply reward the industry of the christian Indians.

“The house of the missionaries stands about forty feet distant from the river, and the ascent to it is by a range of nineteen steps. It is built, partly in the Indian, and partly in the colonial style. Its front is of weather-boarding, and the two sides and back are constructed with a double row of pallsades, close together. The partitions inside are made in the same manner, and every part covered with a plaister, made of chalk and charcoal, of a blueish hue. All the floors are made of clay, mixed with chalk. Brother Fischer's and brother Loesche's rooms have ceilings of strong laths, lying horizontally, but the hall, which is spacious and serves for a dining room, as also the church, which is comprised in the same building, have no covering except the roof. This is made, in the Indian manner, of large leaves fastened upon laths, and all the beams and rafters are secured by Busch-Tau. Behind the dwellings are the Negro-house, kitchen, store-house, and stables,

so constructed that in the rainy season, each may be approached under cover. Next to the mission-house, to the right down the river, stands brother Voegtli's house, built by his own hands in the Indian manner, extremely neat and furnished with a gallery. About one hundred yards from the houses of the missionaries, on each side, most of the houses of the Indian brethren and sisters are ranged in regular rows, along the bank, so that the mission-house and church, which stand nearly in the middle, divide the settlement into two parts. Close to the houses is a well made footpath, leading to the woods on either side. Some of the Indian houses are not built in the row, but in the gardens, and nearly hid among the fruit-trees. At the back of the settlement runs a fence, to prevent the cattle from entering the garden-grounds. However, the most considerable gardens belonging to the Indians, namely, their cassabi plantations, which afford them the chief part of their sustenance, are at Aulibissi, on the opposite side of the Corentyn, about an hour and an half's walk from HOPE. The school-house is situated behind the mission-house, and is an airy Indian building.

"The employment of the christian Indians at HOPE consists chiefly in cultivating their fields and gardens, in weaving mats, and in cutting and preparing timber. One or two of the missionaries accompany them into the wood, where they fell trees, cut planks, and make shingles. A large quantity of the latter, as likewise many bundles of hammocks made by them, are sold at Berbice, and the produce applied towards the purchase of necessities for themselves and their families. They are thus kept in a constant state of useful industry *."

Goods cannot be conveyed to Berbice in any other way than by water, and as our brethren, for a long time, could not afford to have a large vessel, they frequently ran great risks with their small canoes or coryars. At length they purchased a large boat, with which the missionaries, Fischer and Kluge, with four Indians, set out for Berbice in August 1795, but the voyage proved very unsuccessful. Having proceeded a considerable way, the boat, all on a

* Per. Acct. Vol. i. p. 419.

sudden, became leaky, and the water gained upon them so fast, that she sank before they could run her aground, to save their lives. First they clung to a cask fastened to the boat, and then to the mast, part of which was above water; and thus remained eight hours exposed to the most imminent danger in the open sea, till after midnight they succeeded in getting on shore, by means of a small coryar; and afterwards reached HOPE in safety. Meanwhile the Indians continued their exertions with undiminished diligence and prepared other articles to send to Berbice, in which they were assisted by a German called Vogt, whom the brethren engaged for that purpose, and with whose conduct and diligence they had every reason to be satisfied*.

Besides the daily schools for the children they began a Sunday school for adults in 1796. On opening it sixty men and women attended, and shewed great diligence and eagerness to learn.

HOPE, being situated on the frontiers between Surinam and Berbice, was exposed to many difficulties, in consequence of the war between Holland and Great Britain, the latter having taken possession of Berbice in 1796. Brother Kluge, returning from Paramaribo in their own vessel, laden with provisions, was captured by an English Privateer, and plundered of all the stores. The Privateer carried him and his Indians to Berbice, where he was taken very ill; but by the kind attention of some friends, with whom he lodged, he soon recovered; and after paying a considerable sum to ransom the vessel returned to HOPE. In the sequel the English treated our brethren with great civility, permitting them to continue their voyages without interruption from one colony to the other.

Shortly before the British had possessed themselves of Demarary a circumstance occurred peculiarly trying to the Indian congregation. A gang of run-away Negroes commenced a rebellion in that province, and committed the most horrid murders and outrages. The Dutch go-

* *Per. Acct.* Vol. ii. p. 260.

vernment having resolved to quell this insurrection by means of Indian auxiliaries, the governor wrote a letter to the missionaries at HOPE, desiring them to exhort their Indians to join the rest of their nation and the military, in the expedition against the Negroes. They convened the congregation and communicated the governor's letter, but left them to their own free will as to the steps they would choose to take, being acknowledged an independent people. The Indians hereupon held a council, the result of which was, that they declared they had no mind to join in the war against the Negroes, especially as their own country would be left exposed, if they were all to march off into a distant province; but if Berbice were attacked, they should then think themselves bound to oppose the incursion of the enemy. This resolution they sent to the post at Anbara; but were answered, that it could not be considered as their own act and deed, because they depended on the will of their teachers, and would surely go, if the latter advised them to it. Indeed the Indians were watching the missionaries and expected to have a decisive opinion from them; but they carefully avoided any interference, and daily offered up prayer and supplication, that the Lord would avert the storm. Upwards of twenty of the men, having returned from their work in the wood, another council was held, during which the women stood without and wept. The result was, that three of them agreed to go to the war. As the European officers had reckoned upon fifty warriors from HOPE, they were greatly disappointed at seeing only three arrive; and several of them, and also some parties of Indians came to HOPE and made some disturbance. However they did not succeed in their endeavours, for not one more would join them. On the 23rd of July the warriors passed by in two canoes; one carrying twenty, and the other thirty-four men. The missionaries then reported the whole transaction to the governor, and he expressed himself perfectly satisfied with their conduct. In about two months the Indians returned, having stormed a camp of 400 rebel Negroes, and either killed or dispersed them. Many Demarary Indians and soldiers were killed, but not one of this country*.

* Per. Acet. Vol. ii. p. 266.

Amidst these perplexities from without, our missionaries had cause to rejoice at the success, which attended their labours in the gospel. The congregation at HOPE, which hitherto had been chiefly collected from the Arawaks, now began to obtain an increase from another tribe called *Waraus*.

The character of this tribe is marked by a greater degree of levity, than that of the other Indians in Guiana. Their habits are more depraved and dissolute. They are more addicted to stealing, excessively superstitious and indolent; and apparently possessed of less mental capacities than others; and though, by living among the Arawaks and understanding their language, they had had frequent opportunities of hearing the gospel, and yet paid little attention to it, they seemed almost less fit for the kingdom of God than the former. The greater, therefore, did the power of the gospel appear in the awakening and conversion of some of this tribe. No less than thirty-six became inhabitants of HOPE in the year 1796.

An epidemical disease prevailing about this time, many heathen came to HOPE to consult the missionaries. These gladly gave them the best advice and assistance in their power, and improved these visits for commending the gospel to them, as the most effectual antidote against the fear of death. It was gratifying to them to observe the beneficial influence of religion on their converts in this season of affliction, not only as it appeared in the tranquil state of their minds, but as it meliorated their temporal condition; for they enjoyed much better care and attendance in sickness than the savages; and it was ascertained by indubitable facts, that in epidemical diseases eight heathen died for one christian Indian.

During the years 1797 and 1798 they had to encounter various difficulties. A scarcity, little short of real famine, afflicted the country. The missionaries were obliged every day to seek, and almost beg, their morsel of cassabi and after all to pay an enormous price for it, a prodigious swarm of large ants, having nearly destroyed their plantations. They were in total want both of bread

and meal, as well as of meat and butter, and no game could be obtained. This distress, however, was lessened in the sequel, as government permitted them to travel to Berbice on concerns of the mission.

While this scarcity continued, several alarming reports were circulated of hostilities having commenced among some of the Indian tribes. In consequence of these rumours many Arawaks and Waraus left their habitations, and fled for safety to the settlement at HOPE, bringing their goods with them. All the Indians on the other side of the Corentyn fled, and mostly took refuge with our brethren. Even those at the post, who were stationed there for the defence of the country, came to the settlement. To inspire the people with some degree of courage, the missionaries dispersed all the men, who had arms, in regular bands, to keep watch, and had all the coryars, or boats, brought on land, to prevent any one from escaping. Thus, at the beginning of 1797, there were upwards of two hundred fugitives with our brethren. Many of them cleared ground, for building and planting, in the vicinity of the settlement. In a few months, however, tranquillity having been restored, they again quitted that part of the country, without having received any apparent benefit from their intercourse with the christian Indians.

But now a disaster of a far more distressing nature befel the mission. In March 1798 a ship was wrecked near the mouth of the Corentyn. The captain and another gentleman, who gave themselves out to be Americans, came to HOPE. Our missionaries immediately sent intelligence of this to the postmaster at Auleara, who, after examining into the business, permitted them to convoy these gentlemen to Berbice, whither they were bound. The day after, therefore, brother Fischer set out with them, and the next morning came up with the crew, belonging to the wrecked vessel. Fischer, having taken an inventory of the goods, saved from the ship, returned to HOPE; and the unfortunate company, consisting of twenty-four persons, pursued their voyage to Berbice in one of their own sloops and in the barge, belonging to the mission, being accompanied by seven Indians. It was now

discovered, that they were not Americans but English. In consequence of this the postmaster of Nieukeur was obliged to go to Paramaribo, whither brother Kluge accompanied him, to lay a circumstantial account of the whole occurrence before government. A fortnight after Adjutant General Roux arrived at the settlement, to examine into the affair. After his return to Paramaribo an order was sent from government, requiring that Fischer and his family should immediately leave the country. This was a most afflictive dispensation, both to the missionaries and their converts, who came in crowds to lament the removal of this useful man from the mission. However, as suspicions were entertained, that, on discovering that the pretended Americans were British subjects, Fischer had assisted in secreting part of the cargo of the stranded ship, which according to the laws of war belonged to the government, our brethren viewed it as a special favour, that this occurrence did not lessen the benevolence of the governor for them and their establishment, and that he continued to them the permission, formerly granted, of carrying their goods for sale to Berbice*.

The number of inhabitants at HOPE was in the mean time considerably increased. At the close of 1799 it amounted to near three hundred persons; and besides them, there were many others, who were benefitted by the ministry of our brethren, though they still lived scattered in the woods. But in the following years the number was greatly diminished, many being carried off by the small pox, and others, yielding to their naturally roving disposition, retreated to *Aporro-creek*, so that at the end of 1804 only one hundred and forty-six persons resided at HOPE, and one hundred and seventeen baptized Indians were living dispersed in the country.

In August 1806 HOPE was visited by a dreadful calamity. One afternoon, while the missionaries were sitting together taking some refreshment, a fire broke out, which ran with such rapidity along the thatched roofs of the

* Per. Acct. Vol. ii. p. 494, 495.—Brethren's Hist. Vol. iv. p. 128.

houses, that in a short time every building in the settlement, not excepting the church and the mission-house, became a prey to the flames. Only the walls of the church, which were made of planks, remained in part standing, but all their tools, and implements of gardening and husbandry, together with the tackle and rigging of their boat, the stores of the Indians, and various other articles and provisions were consumed. Fortunately, however, they saved their books and manuscripts, most of their clothes, some gun-powder, and two barrels of flour. And no one received any personal injury. This calamity was rendered still more distressing, as there was reason to suspect that the fire had been kindled by incendiaries. Several attempts of the same kind had been made the preceding days, but, being timely discovered, the design had been frustrated.

About two years after, our brethren were under the necessity of quitting Hope. Most, if not all, of those Indians belonging to that congregation, who were truly converted in heart, and walked worthily of the gospel, were in a short period of time, called into eternity by an epidemical disorder, and departed this life rejoicing in their Redeemer. None, therefore, were left, who by their example led the rest to serious reflection, or, at least, to orderly behaviour; but a spirit of resistance and enmity to the gospel became predominant.

This suspension of the mission on the Corentyn having occasioned deep regret in all our congregations in Europe, the brethren in Paramaribo were commissioned to avail themselves of the first opportunity, that might offer, to collect the scattered remains of the Arawak congregation, and to endeavour to renew the mission. Several of the Indians themselves, who occasionally came to Paramaribo, expressed a wish, that the labours of the Brethren among their nation might be renewed; and declared, that many of those, who, by their dissolute and refractory conduct, had contributed to the dispersion of the congregation, repented of what they had done, and would now put a higher value upon the instructions given them, if the mission were re-established.

As soon, therefore, as it was practicable brother Langballe and his wife paid a visit to the Indians in those parts. They found the former settlement at HOPE, quite forsaken, and overgrown with bushes. About three miles higher up, on the Berbice side of the river, they met with a considerable number of baptized Indians, who formerly lived at HOPE, and had made a settlement there. Brother Langballe was received by them with great cordiality, and staid with them three weeks. Every day he held a meeting; and spoke with them on the necessity of true conversion, and faith in Christ. They listened with great attention and apparent devotion to his discourses; several of them expressed their sorrow at having no teacher now residing amongst them, and their earnest desire, not only to be favoured again with opportunities of hearing the word of God, but to live in conformity to it. Brother Langballe at that time could do no more, than make a regulation among them to meet together and read the New Testament. He encouraged them to turn anew with their whole heart to Jesus, and to forsake all heathenish practices, and help to build each other up in the faith. He then set out with his wife, and visited the other baptized, who lived dispersed on the *Ziporotu* and *Mepenna* rivers. Many of these poor people bewailed the loss of their teachers, and expressed their sincere wish that missionaries might again come and dwell among them. According to the best information brother Langballe could procure from those whom he visited, he found that of the former inhabitants of HOPE, one hundred and ninety-seven persons were still living. He himself had spoken with seventy-seven of the baptized.

Encouraged by these promising appearances, two missionaries, William Christian Genth, and John Hafa, who had lately arrived in Surinam, proceeded in June 1812 to the Corentyn, where they found a house ready for them, having been built by one of the christian Indians, in expectation of their arrival. It was about three miles distant from the site of the old settlement. With the assistance of some Negroes, they had brought with them from Paramaribo, they soon cleared a piece of ground for planting, and enlarged their dwelling, so as to accommo-

date the Indians with a meeting room. Thirty of the baptized resided about a mile from them, and diligently attended divine worship. In process of time two or three Indian families came to settle with them, and others promised to follow; but that awakening and true conversion of heart, which the Spirit of God alone can effect, were still wanting.

From the most recent intelligence received from that quarter, and dated in April 1817, it appears, that the missionaries had left the station on the Corentyn, and removed to the river *Neukeer*, there to preach the gospel to the Negroes on the neighbouring plantations. Five Arawak Indians had accompanied them. Brother Genth had fixed his residence on an estate, called GOOD INTENT, about four miles from the mouth of the river. The proprietor had given him a dwelling-house with sufficient garden-ground, and a building to serve for a meeting-house. This place lies in the centre of eight cotton plantations, from which the Negroes were allowed to attend divine service without molestation. Brother Hafa had settled on another estate near the coast, on the river *Copename*.

SECTION IV.

Bambey on the Sarameca.

THE government at Surinam having in the year 1764 made peace with the Free-negroes, living on the river Sarameca, and wisely judging, that their conversion to christianity would, more than any thing else, tend to make them peaceable, and put a stop to those depredations and cruelties, which they had formerly committed, made application to the Brethren to send missionaries to instruct them. In consequence of this application, the Brethren, in the year 1765, sent the missionaries Lewis Christopher Daehne, Rudolph Stoll, and Thomas Jones to Paramaribo; who set out from thence for Sara Creek, on December 7th. Their goods had been previously con-

veyed up the river by a boat carrying soldiers, and they themselves arrived there on the 12th.

About the same time, Mr Doehring had been sent by government, as agent to the Free-negroes, to distribute presents among them, and do every thing in his power to engage their friendship. He was likewise commissioned to introduce the missionaries to the Chiefs, and to recommend them to their favour. In this view, he invited all the Chiefs to a conversation in his tent. A good many Free-negroes came with them, to whom Mr. Doehring presented the above mentioned brethren, informing them of the purport of their coming, namely to make them acquainted with God, their Creator and Saviour; and added "Whatever you do to these men, whether good or bad, I shall consider as done to myself." The Negroes unanimously promised to treat them in the best manner.

The missionaries intended to travel further into the country, but as the Negroes had not room in their boats for the accommodation of all, brother Stoll was obliged to return, with part of the baggage, to Victoria, and wait for another opportunity. This separation gave them much concern. However, as no other plan could be devised, the brethren Daehne and Jones went with the Negroes, and arrived December 24th; the former on the *Sinthea* Creek, with Abini, (father to John Arabini, who became a worthy member of the congregation at Bambey) and the latter with Samsam on *Doose* Creek. It was by no means their wish to reside at two different places, but Samsam, who was a Chief, and with whom brother Jones had travelled, kept him by force. This did not arise from particular regard or attachment to the missionary, but solely from ambition, that he might likewise have an European residing with him, which the Negroes esteem an honour. January 1, 1766, however, brother Jones found an opportunity of disengaging himself from his ungracious host, and rejoining his fellow missionary, Daehne, on the *Sinthea* Creek. Samsam continued for some time to be very troublesome, by insisting on having one of them as a resident in his house; and when he found

them resolute in their determination of dwelling together, kept back their goods, and either applied them to his own use, or suffered them to spoil. They felt their loss very severely. However, on February 2, brother Stoll arrived from Victoria, with the remainder of their baggage.

The meeting of all appointed to the same work gave them great joy; but, it was soon turned into grief, by the unexpected departure of brother Jones into eternal rest, on the 7th of the same month. The two remaining brethren, at first suffered great hardships and poverty, and lived in a small miserable hut, near the dwelling of two old Negroes, till Abini, becoming sensible of their distress, built a small house for them. In a short time, however, they lost likewise this friend and benefactor. He was shot in a battle between the combined force of the Sarameca Negroes, and the white people and Matuari Negroes. Before he went to the battle, he is said to have presented his son, John Arabini, to the missionaries, with words to the following effect: "that he did not know what sort of people the Brethren were, nor the cause of their abode in the country, but believed God had sent them."

In August the same year, Cujo, afterwards called Joshua, brought his son Scipio to brother Stoll, and requested him to teach him to read and write. With this boy the brethren began a school, which was afterwards increased by some other young people; but only the two first stayed, and at their pressing request went in the sequel to reside with the missionaries, and having received a real sense of the love of God in their souls, were baptized and admitted to the holy sacrament*.

Arabini, who was chosen Chief in the place of his father, proved a real friend and protector to the missionaries. Having in the course of a year acquired sufficient knowledge of the language†, to render themselves intelligible

* Per. Act. Vol. ii. p. 414.

† The language of the Free-negroes, though differing considerably from that spoken by the Negroes on the plantations, is not difficult of attainment to any one who understands English, or any language derived from the Latin.

to the inhabitants of the village; they informed them of their reason for coming to the country, namely, to make them acquainted with the true God, the Creator and Redeemer of man. This excited the jealousy and opposition of the idol-priests, and especially of the old women, who terrified their superstitious countrymen by representing to them that their *gados* (or gods) were angry with them for turning to the *Gran-gado* (the great God) of the white people *. Not satisfied with thus deterring the Negroes from having any intercourse, with the missionaries, they even plotted their destruction. But, as our brethren were ignorant of their murderous design, they continued to hold their family devotions with their doors open, hoping that some of the savages might be attracted by curiosity to attend. They were, however, warned against going out of the house at night, and they themselves make the following remark in their report of 1767, "Our situation is

* The number of their *gados* is almost incalculable, every person choosing one according to his own fancy. Some fix on a large tree, a heap of sand, stones, a tiger, a crocodile, a serpent, &c. for their *gado*; and others make use of an image, or a stick, decorated with the teeth of some ferocious animal. Before these idols they perform their devotions with great reverence. However they are not scrupulous in reproving their *gado*, if they think he has done them a mischief. A water-serpent, called *Bomia*, whom a Negro-woman had chosen for her idol, having one day killed the only duck she possessed, she ran in great fury to the river and exclaimed; "O *gado*! thou hast not done right in that thou hast killed my only duck, though I have very faithfully served thee, and thou hast done no harm to these people who have many ducks, and who seek to destroy thee, [meaning the missionaries] this is not right." Such fooleries, however, are not the whole, or the worst part, of their superstition. Some persuade themselves, in so lively a manner, that the spirit of their *gado* is upon them, that, while under this delusion, their bodies are subject to the most violent and frightful agitations; and the more ghastly and horrid the contortions of such a person are, in the greater veneration is he held by the people, who repose unlimited confidence in his pretensions. When the Negroes observe any thing uncommon, either in the bodily form, or in the intellectual powers, of a child, he is committed to the tutorage of an old idol-priestess who from infancy prepares him for the *inspiration* of a *gado*, in such a manner, that it is impossible not to discern the effects of satanic influence. And though a pupil of this description is often dreadfully emaciated by the paroxysms, which accompany his initiation, he willingly submits, in the hope of once becoming a great man, and being respected as an *obia*, or *gado-man*, whose advice and counsel are sought in case of sickness, and on other occasions. Such persons are, in general, expert deceivers, who know how to turn the superstitious credulity of the people to their own advantage, and never fail to enrich themselves. *Riser, Part ii, Sec. 3. p. 182—184.*

even more dangerous than we are aware of; but we depend on *Him*, who is the sure defence of his servants, and is mightier than all. If it please him, we are willing to be made a sacrifice. May he only preserve to us the feeling of his peace." But as Arabini maintained a good understanding with the Dutch government, who had recommended the missionaries to his protection, none of their enemies ventured to do them any personal injury*.

Brother Daehne having returned to Europe in 1768, the service of the mission devolved upon Stoll, the missionary sent to his assistance, being confined by illness for a whole year. As no entrance could be gained among the adults, brother Stoll continued the school with the children, and translated select portions of the New Testament. He had the pleasure to observe, that his labours were not altogether lost on their juvenile minds.

Our brethren had hitherto resided in a Negroe village on *Sinthea* Creek, where their situation was often rendered extremely unpleasant by the wild and rude behaviour of the inhabitants, who frequently spent whole weeks in rioting and drunkenness, especially when there was a sacrificial feast, or a funeral. It was, therefore, very agreeable to their wishes, when most of the Negroes removed to *Se-bonne* Creek. Thither they followed them, and settled on a small piece of land, procured by Arabini, at a short distance from the village. Arabini also built a house for them, which they inhabited in February 1769, and called their settlement *QUAMA*, from the great number of bamboo canes growing there. The same year brother Kersten and his wife arrived from Europe to serve in this mission. They indulged the hope, that the services of a sister might be of essential benefit, as the brethren could gain no access to the Negroe women, in consequence of the influence Arabini's grand-mother exerted over them. This idolatrous old woman, whose opinions were venerated as of divine inspiration, was a sworn enemy to the mission.

Among the adults Arabini was hitherto the only one,

* *Risler*, Part ii. Sec. 3. p. 185.

on whose mind the testimony of the gospel made any visible impression. Notwithstanding he was exposed to constant ridicule and opposition, he continued to protect and befriend the missionaries, and as he boldly avowed his sentiments respecting the doctrines of the gospel, others were induced to go and hear for themselves. Thus in May 1770 a considerable number of *men* attended the preaching, listened with great silence and apparent devotion to the discourse, and even came again in the evening, requesting to hear more of the word of God. In the sequel also there was no want of hearers, though as yet none of the *women* ventured to come, being afraid thereby to exasperate their gods. Though the impression, made upon their hearers, could scarce be considered as a real awakening, yet it greatly encouraged them to persevere in their labours of love, and not to despise the day of small things.

While most of their hearers received the seed on stony ground, or among thorns, or by the way-side, it fell on good ground in the case of Arabini. This man evidently increased in grace and the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, and boldly confessed the doctrine of the gospel. The missionaries, therefore, felt no further hesitation in admitting him to holy baptism. This sacred rite was performed on the 6th of January, 1771, in presence of most of the *male* inhabitants of the village. Our brethren viewed it as an auspicious circumstance, that the most respectable Chief of the nation was the first, who became obedient to the gospel, hoping that his public profession of christianity would produce a salutary effect on his countrymen. In this, however, they were disappointed. His baptism mightily incensed the heathen, especially the idolatrous women, and they opposed the effects, likely to result from this occurrence, with a zeal worthy of a better cause. Instigated by them the captain of a neighbouring village entered the mission-house, foaming with rage and armed with a gun and a sabre, sharply reprehending them for committing the heinous offence of persuading Arabini to forsake the gods of his ancestors and turn to the God of the white people. But the undaunted confession of the truth by our missionaries, and the testimony

of Arabini himself concerning the blessed change wrought in him, subdued the fury of the captain, who calmly returned to his own house*.

Arabini remained faithful to his profession, and being much respected as the Chief of the nation, often prevented disorders and mischief, and averted harm from the mission. He was still more respected by our brethren as a faithful and active assistant in preaching the gospel to his countrymen†. The impression made on the rest of their hearers was very transient. Nevertheless, they built a chapel, in 1772, having hitherto performed divine service in their own house. They were obliged to do most of the work themselves, as they could get but very little assistance from the Negroes. Brother Kersten, in his report makes the following just remark: "A missionary ought to understand something of several arts and trades. Though we are but two, it is well for us, that we can make a shift to do a little of the work of a tailor, shoemaker, carpenter, farmer, basketmaker and smith, and, besides preaching the gospel to the Negroes, can even serve them as physicians and surgeons‡.

In 1778, the Negroes, from superstitious motives and love of change, left QUAMA; and the missionaries were obliged to follow them lower down the river to the little *Quaffa'dam*. They called their new residence BAMBEY, which in the language of the country signifies, *Only wait*, or *have patience*. By giving it this name, they intended to remind each other, that the gospel ought to be preached with patience and perseverance, and in confident ex-

* Risler, Part ii. Sec. 3. p. 185—191.

† The following anecdote shows the power of conviction on the mind of Arabini at an early period. Soon after the arrival of our missionaries in the country, and before he had avowed himself a convert to christianity, having often heard them declare, that the idols of the heathen could neither help nor hurt them, he went one morning to the river where the crocodile, or alligator, who was the god of the village, had his haunt. On seeing the creature he addressed it thus, (holding his loaded gun in his hand :) "I intend to shoot thee. Now, if thou art a god, my bullet will do thee no harm; but if thou art a creature, it will kill thee." He then fired his piece and shot the animal dead. Alarmed at this the idol-priestess sacrificed a cock to appease the wrath of the pretended deity. Per Acc. Vol. ii. p. 96.

‡ Risler, Part ii. Sec. 3. p. 193.

pectation of the help of the Lord. The constant recollection of this was peculiarly necessary at this time, as their situation was by no means encouraging. In 1773, only one Negroe was baptized, and the addition to their congregation, two years after, amounted but to three. Several missionaries, who came to assist in the work, departed this life shortly after their arrival; and in 1777, brother Rudolph Stoll likewise fell asleep in Jesus. The removal of this worthy and zealous servant of Christ was felt as a severe affliction by the Free-negroes, among whom, to this day, he is held in respectful remembrance*. He had served this mission for more than eleven years, amidst many difficulties and hardships.

He was succeeded at BAMBEY by brother Christopher Lewis Schuman. Being soon left alone, in consequence of the death of his assistant, and having suffered much from severe illnesses, he was obliged to return to Paramaribo†. His successor, brother Hans and his wife were both called away from this stage of life, in about a month after their arrival, and within six days of each other. After a vacancy at BAMBEY of five months, brother Schuman returned. In subsequent years sickness and the death of several missionaries occasioned continual changes; but the Negroes were always thankful when a new missionary arrived.

The year 1780 was distinguished by some encouraging

* *Per. Acct. Vol. ii. p. 418.*

† He relates in one of his letters, that after a most dangerous attack of the seasoning fever, his body was covered all over with boils and painful sores. He lay in his cot as helpless as a child, and had no one to administer any relief or food to him, but a poor old Negroe woman, who sometimes was obliged to follow the rest to the plantations in the woods. One morning, while she was absent, after spending a most restless and painful night, he observed, at sun-rise, an immense swarm of ants, entering through the roof, and spreading themselves all over the inside of his chamber; and expecting little else, but that they would make a meal of him, he commended his soul to God, and hoped thus to be released from all his suffering. They presently covered his bed and himself, and entering into his sores, caused an uncommon degree of smarting pain. However they soon quitted him, and continued their march; and from that time he gradually recovered his health and spirits. *Per. Acct. Vol. ii. p. 419.*

events. The number of believing Free-negroes amounted as yet only to seven *men*, for hitherto the *women* had not only refused to listen to the gospel, but opposed the conversion of the men by all the arts in their power; but this year three adult women were baptized, one of whom was the wife of Arabini, and besides them three men and two children.

The most animating to our missionaries, on these occasions, was the change wrought in the sentiments of the heathen. They remark concerning this: "After the baptism of Arabini, the Negroes by their very looks menaced us with destruction; but now they appear affected, their superstitious notions are shaken, and they allow, that those who are baptized, are delivered from the foolish dread of their gados."

Arabini greatly facilitated their labours by his zealous endeavours to awaken the attention of his countrymen to the things belonging to their peace. After one of the brethren had delivered a discourse, he generally added a short exhortation of his own, expressed in a manner well calculated to arrest the attention of his countrymen. Once he addressed them thus: "You acknowledge me for your Chief, and therefore ask my advice in all important concerns, and I freely tell you my mind. You know I have often told you, how good it is to live in peace with the white people, and that it is not good, if it be broken through our own fault. But when I tell you, that you wage war against *Him*, who has made you and the whole world, and who out of love to us, has come down from heaven to redeem us from all iniquity by his own blood and death, you pay little attention to my discourse. God hath sent the brethren, to make these things known to us: I beseech you, reflect seriously on these great truths." On another occasion, when the subject of the sermon had been the final judgment, Arabini, overhearing some of the heathen converse together and remarking, that then they would hide in the wood, or kill themselves, stepped forward and addressed them thus: "The Lord will know where to find you, even those who have died many years ago; *all, all* must appear before him; and those, who

have loved him in this world, he will bring with him into eternal joy, but all the rest he will consign to the torments of everlasting fire." Some replied, that as so many would share in the punishment, it would not be so severe to each individual. Arabini shrewdly answered: "Try the experiment, and all of you put your fingers together into the fire, let us see, whether each individual will not feel the same degree of pain, as if he were alone." Struck dumb by this remark, the whole assembly broke up with a heavy sigh *.

In 1785 the Negroes again changed their place of abode, and moved further down the river to the mouth of the *Wana* Creek †; whither the missionaries followed them the next year, and called this place **NEW BAMBEY**.

On this new station they continued their labours for the instruction and conversion of the Negroes, with persevering zeal, amidst many difficulties. They made many occasional visits to the neighbouring villages, sowing the seed of the word in faith, and in hope that God would give the desired increase at some future period; for as yet they reaped but little fruit from their labours. The progress of their few converts in evangelical knowledge and christian practice was slow, and often impeded by the many temptations, which were daily thrown in their way. Though the missionaries succeeded in a considerable degree to wean them from the lying vanities of their former lives, yet these were often so deeply rooted in their hearts, that it required constant care and vigilance wholly to eradicate them. Here again Arabini's firm and decided

* Risler, Part ii. Sec. 3. p. 204.

† These frequent removals, though unpleasant and troublesome, are not attended with any great expense. The erection of a new house is the work of a few days, and requires comparatively little labour. Nine posts are driven into the ground, and the spaces betwixt them filled up with a kind of palm leaves, very large and thick; and these also serve for the door. These leaves are plaited and tied together by means of a plant called *bushtau* [or woodrope,] which twines itself round large trees, frequently attaining the length of twenty or thirty feet, and is easily split so as to become as fine as a thread. The roof is covered with leaves of another tree, called *Tassi*. Thus the whole edifice is completed without lime, or mortar, or a single nail; and yet such a building will stand several years without needing any repairs.

opposition to every thing of a superstitious nature, was of great use. On the death of one of his relations, who had been a zealous idol-priestess, he gave strict orders, that no pagan rites should be performed at her funeral. The heathen, however, availing themselves of his absence, pretended, that the deceased was unwilling to be removed, and it was necessary first to inquire, who had been the cause of her death. They were proceeding to institute this inquiry, when Arabini arrived and, by laying hold of the bier himself, convinced the heathen that the corpse *could* be removed, and thus confounded the sorcerers. This was a most fortunate circumstance, for their custom on such occasions is shocking to humanity. The sorcerers pretend they have discovered the murderer, and, fixing on some miserable wretch, apply the most cruel tortures to extort confession from him of the alleged crime, and then put him to death in the most barbarous manner *.

By degrees, however, the savages themselves became ashamed of this superstitious and cruel practice. In 1791 a woman pretended, that she had repeatedly dreamed, that a man came to her with a fire-brand in his hand, which she interpreted as a sure indication, that he was a sorcerer and poison-mixer, and consequently ought to be burned. A council was convened to decide the fate of this unfortunate man. Arabini, (who, as captain of the village presided at this consultation,) with the unanimous approbation of all the counsellors, declared: "They could pay no attention to such absurdities, and if no other evidence of the guilt of the accused person could be adduced than foolish dreams, no one should dare to do him the least injury." Upon the whole, the pagan inhabitants of the village, though they showed no disposition to be converted, lay no further impediments in the way of their believing countrymen, but evinced a spirit of toleration and liberality, and were even ready to assist them, when preparing for any religious solemnity. They, however, expected the same liberality from the christian Negroes, and expressed

* Brethren's History, Vol. iii. p. 329.

displeasure when they refused to assist them in their idolatrous festivities *."

In subsequent years the prospect became more exhilarating. The missionary WIEZ, in a letter, dated May 1793, writes: "We enjoy many happy days with our small congregation of believing Free-negroes. Our Saviour grants them a more solid foundation in his precious atonement, and a gradual increase in the knowledge of themselves and of *his* great love to sinners. In the upper country, or highlands, the gospel spreads more and more, by means of the conversations of the christian Free-negroes, who are stirred up to declare the truth to their countrymen. Two heathen from those parts have been baptized." A man, who at his baptism was called Paul, evinced particular zeal. He had formerly been a zealous idolater, and had never resided with the missionaries. Yet, it was chiefly by his means, that the awakening in the highlands commenced; and it was at his house that those, who desired instruction, used to meet for religious exercise and edification.

The missionaries also made frequent excursions to the highlands, and found many attentive hearers in every village, where they preached. They remarked it as a singular fact, that in those villages, where the heathen sorcerers had formerly had the greatest influence, the gospel now appeared to make the deepest impression. Many of the highlanders expressed a wish, that some of the brethren would settle among them, and a spot of ground was chosen for the building of a house and chapel. This, however, could not be executed. Frequently there was only one missionary at NEW BAMBEY, who consequently could not be absent; and the roving disposition of the Free-Negroes, who are never long stationary in one place, threw insurmountable obstacles in the way of its execution. For no European constitution can bear the excessive fatigue and other hardships, unavoidably connected with moving to and fro through the forest.

* Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 55.

Many valuable lives of missionaries have formerly been sacrificed in the attempt.

Our brethren, therefore, were obliged to content themselves with occasional visits to the highlands. These visits were for some years chiefly undertaken by three of the native assistants, who were much better able to endure the difficulties of these journeys than Europeans. Their simple, but zealous testimony of Jesus and his atonement found ready entrance in several places, and led to true conversion of heart. Thus, when now and then a missionary could pay a visit in these parts, he found the way in a great measure prepared. He was not only welcomed with joy by the Free-negroes, who came in numbers to hear him, and often, after listening for nearly two hours to a sermon, would request him to continue his discourse; but also discovered in some of them such evident signs of repentance and a change of mind, that he felt no hesitation in admitting them to holy baptism*.

In 1793 a death occurred in NEW BAMBEY, the attending circumstances of which made a salutary impression upon the minds of the inhabitants, especially the young people. Brother Wiez gives the following account of it: "August 30th, the negro *Cornelius*, who had been out hunting, was brought home very ill. He was yesterday bitten in the leg by a rattlesnake and suffered very great pain, the swelling having spread above the hip. In the following days the poison spread further, and the offensive smell, occasioned by its effects upon him, rendered it very unpleasant to be with him. September 16th, he sent for me, being in great torment both of body and mind. He seized my hand with eagerness, and held me fast; confessed that even since his baptism he had frequently committed sin, and declared that he now felt forsaken of God, and expected soon to be cast into everlasting darkness.

"His parents, and younger brother, who are baptized, and the former assistants in the mission, were present and exceedingly affected. I encouraged the patient

* Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 74.

to turn with confidence to Jesus, our compassionate Saviour, who received gifts for man, yea, for the rebellious also. But he refused comfort, accused himself before all, who visited him, without reserve, as a miserable, perishing sinner, adding, that the Lord would not now receive him, as he had behaved too wickedly.

“ On the 18th, he again sent for me. He was in the same state of despondency, and entreated me and all the Negroes present to pray for him, that he might receive mercy; which we did, kneeling round his bed, and he himself prayed most fervently and incessantly. When I visited him the day following, he received me with joy, and testified that he had obtained forgiveness of his sins; and felt the peace of God in his heart; and that he now greatly desired soon to depart and be with Christ. He then addressed the company present to the following effect: ‘ Ah! my friends, abide in Jesus; give him your whole heart; and do not turn again to the ways of sin: look at me and consider how things have gone with me! I am a great sinner, but I have obtained mercy and pardon! yea, most assuredly every thing has been forgiven me; I have obtained mercy! Ah! join me to praise and thank our Saviour!’ On the 26th he departed this life rejoicing.

“ This man was the eldest son of our assistant Andrew, and was under strong convictions when a boy. The best hopes were entertained of his prosperity, and in 1784, he was admitted to the class of candidates for baptism. However he deviated from the path of truth, and got entangled in the snares of sin. God then made use of various extraordinary means to bring him to reflection. Once, when fishing in the Sarameca, he was stung by a poisonous fish, and it was with difficulty that his life was preserved. For some time he showed signs of repentance, which, however, were not lasting. Some time after he was attacked and bit by a wild boar, and again lay dangerously ill. He then confessed it to be a chastisement for his unfaithfulness, and seemed disposed to forsake his heathenish connexions, and turn with his whole heart to the Lord. But, alas! by degrees his good resolutions again

vanished. Last year, when hunting in the woods, a tyger sprang upon him, and tore him in a shocking manner. He now was brought to more solid reflection, and expressed a great desire to be truly converted. January 6th he was baptized, and for a short time appeared to be seriously awakened. Yet he did not remain faithful to the grace received, but seemed gradually relapsing into his former habits. When therefore the above mentioned accident happened, he immediately cried out: 'This is of God, and a just judgment, which will cost me my life*.'

Besides attending to their regular occupation of preaching, keeping school and instructing their converts more fully in the way of the Lord, our missionaries were diligently employed in translating. Wier revised the translation of the four gospels, to which he added a version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, and revised and enlarged the hymn-book in use among them. And, though the increase of their congregation was not rapid, yet they had frequently a considerable number of hearers, and no year elapsed without the admission of one or more heathen to baptism. From the commencement of the mission in 1771, to the end of the eighteenth century, fifty-nine heathen had been baptized, of whom seventeen had died in the faith, and there were then forty nine persons belonging to the congregation.

For several succeeding years no material change took place in the affairs of this mission, but in 1810 dark and heavy clouds seemed to rise in that quarter, and even to threaten the extinction of the light of the gospel. The missionaries remark: "If ever the power of Satan was anywhere manifest, it is among the Free-negroes at **BAMBER**. He exerts it by a host of diabolical emissaries, by sorcerers and old witches, with their lying fables and predictions, and by other heathen, who, having been excited to enmity against the government, seem determined to expel the missionaries from the country, because they are appointed to transact affairs between the Negroes

and government. If it thereby becomes necessary to give up this agency, by which the station has hitherto been maintained, we cannot much longer support a mission in this wild country. The rebellious spirit now prevailing among the Free-negroes, has also more or less influence upon our small flock of christian Negroes, and we can find but few, and those chiefly among the old people, who are to be depended upon as sincere and faithful to their convictions. John Arabini is their leader, but even as captain, finds his power and influence unequal to resist the overwhelming torrent of wickedness and rage of the enemy. Nothing but Almighty power can do this, and overcome and cast out Satan *."

In the sequel, however, this wild and ungovernable spirit began gradually to abate, and the baptized became sensible of the loss they would have sustained, if things had proceeded so far as to oblige their teachers to leave them. Several came and with contrition owned their defection, expressing a sincere wish to be again restored to true spiritual life. The missionaries, therefore, took fresh courage, resolved to hold out at their difficult post, trusting in the grace and support of our Almighty Saviour. Brother Maehr and his wife being left alone at BAMBEY, our brethren resigned the office of agent for the government among the Free-Negroes. Hereby the maintenance of that station became more difficult, and greatly added to the general expenses of the missions, without the prospect of much eventual success; and as brother Maehr's wife suffered much from illness, and no assistance could, under existing circumstances, be speedily expected from Europe, it became necessary to suspend the mission in this quarter, at least for some time.

Of all the stations, occupied by our missionaries in South America, this may justly deemed the most difficult. The roving disposition of the Free-negroes, and their superstitious and idolatrous habits militated most strongly against the success of the gospel. And the unhealthiness of the climate was a constant source of severe trials to the missionaries. They were not only frequently confined by

* *Par. Acct.* Vol. v. p. 79.

sickness, but many departed this life almost as soon as they had arrived. Those, who survived the seasoning fever, were often debilitated in their constitution, and seldom could hold out many years, without occasional visits to Europe or North America to recruit their health. These frequent changes were, among others, attended with this disadvantage, that but few of the missionaries acquired a competent knowledge of the Sarameca language.

To the hardships, connected with the situation of our brethren at BAMBEY, must likewise be reckoned the difficulty of conveying provisions and other necessary articles to them, from Paramaribo. The boats which brought them were frequently upset and the whole cargo lost, by which the missionaries suffered very serious privations for many weeks. Equal difficulties, and even dangers, attend the voyages of our brethren to this unfrequented and sequestered spot, which, lying in the midst of a horrid wilderness, is almost secluded from any intercourse with other European settlements. The reader may form some idea of the toils and perils of such a voyage, by the following extracts, copied from the journal of two of the missionaries, travelling from Paramaribo to BAMBEY, in September 1797.

After briefly narrating the events of their voyage up the river, till they had reached the last European plantation, brother Langballe, the writer of the journal, thus proceeds: "We now prepared with good courage and fine weather to encounter the difficulties before us in the wilderness. Having turned the point of a large island, the whole breadth of the first cataract, called *Kamwatra*, opened to our view. Although it cannot be reckoned among the largest in the world, yet a person, unaccustomed to such a sight, is seized with sudden surprise and shuddering, in making up against an immense fall of water, three hundred paces in breadth, and rushing over huge stones. We kept as close as possible to the left bank, where the stream was so rapid, that though eight Negroes pulled with all their might, the coryar * often stood still,

* A coryar is an open boat, without sail, propelled solely by towing.

and they were obliged to get into the water and drag it forward with their hands. Having reached a little cove, they landed to recruit their strength, before they proceeded up the cataract. This can only be done by keeping close under the brush-wood near the shore, and managing the boat with the greatest care and exertion. About five we gained the top of the cataract, and soon arrived at the foot of the second, called *Alisu Banya*, which has steeper falls, or steps, than *Kamwatra*, and is consequently more dangerous to pass. As it was too late to venture on this work to-day, our Negroes landed and found some old huts, where we resolved to take up our night's lodging. These huts are open on all sides, with a flat roof made of palm-leaves. We made a fire before our hut, and prepared our supper of some victuals we had brought from Paramaribo, and, as it was the third day since we had taken any thing warm, it proved the more relishing to us.

“At six o'clock the next morning we left our safe cove, to ascend the cataract. As we would not venture into the boat, the Negroe boy, Joseph, attended us with an axe, and we proceeded by land, cutting our way through the wood. About eight we reached the great cataract, or dam, *Kapassi Creh*. The noise of its fall was so loud, that we could not hear our own voices, and the agitation of the waters, occasioned by the rushing of the torrent over huge stones, is perceived at a great distance from the dam, (for thus the cataracts are here called.) We again ascended through the woods, leaving the Negroes to force the boat along. The river here is very broad and full of rocks, scattered in every direction. Near this place the Negroes had hid their bows and arrows, and part of their provision, on their voyage down to Paramaribo, and now took them again with them. About noon we passed a small dam, *Alluttu Ganse*, and at two o'clock another, called *Lokusse*. We also ran upon one of the many sun-

That in which our travellers were, was of the larger size, being rowed by seven Negroes and a boy. It admitted also of an awning being put up, while in smooth water, which proved a great defence against the rays of a scorching sun.

ken rocks hereabouts, but, by God's mercy, received no injury. We took up our quarters for the night upon a small island, overgrown with small trees. We could not construct night-huts, but fastened our hammocks to the trees, the weather being fine. I began to feel rather feverish, and therefore exercised myself by walking, in hopes it would relieve me. In a while we heard distant thunder, and the Negroes, perceiving rain approaching, made a small roof of jassa leaves, for our use, and fixed it on four posts. In about half an hour, a violent storm arose, and was soon succeeded by such a heavy shower, that, though I was in a great perspiration, I was forced out of my hammock, and took shelter under the roof. We were in all ten persons, and obliged to stand very close together. The thunder, lightning and rain increased, and all our fires were put out, excepting one brand, which the Negroes preserved to kindle a new fire when the rain should cease. Brother Maehr and I were placed in the middle, and as long as the roof kept out the water, I fared pretty well, the Negroes standing so close, as to keep off the wind. But after some time the rain forced its way through the roof, and we and all our things were thoroughly soaked. The Negroes expressed great concern for me, and about ten I felt so weak and weary, that I was obliged to lie down dripping wet in my hammock, which had been again fixed under a tree. However, having sufficient covering, I kept warm, and in the morning felt much better, for which I gave thanks to our gracious Saviour. Brother Maehr, being more inured to hardships, continued in good health and spirits.

“The next day we passed several dams. It is astonishing to see what these people will do, sometimes rowing, sometimes jumping into the water and pushing the boat forward, at other times obliged to swim and drag it along.”

Having encountered the danger of ascending upwards of twenty of these cataracts (or ledges of rocks across the whole breadth of the river,) our travellers arrived safe and in good health at BAMBEY, after a voyage of seven days from

the time they left Paramaribo, and of five days through the wilderness *.

SECTION V.

Paramaribo.

AT the time, when the Brethren were invited to begin a mission among the Free-negroes, brother Kersten, who has been mentioned in the preceding section, was commissioned by the directors of our missions, to inquire into the practicability of serving the Negroe-slaves in PARAMARIBO with the gospel. This indeed had been the pious desire of the Brethren from the very commencement of their missionary labours in Surinam; but serious obstacles impeded the execution of this design for several years.

At that period the proprietors of slaves and many other European residents in PARAMARIBO were so strongly prejudiced against the Brethren, that they were prohibited by government to admit any of their neighbours to their family devotions, as the privileges, obtained from the Surinam Trading Company, were exclusively intended to grant liberty to them to propagate the gospel among the Indians, residing in the wilderness.

The circumstances of their other establishments in the country, however, required, that one or more brethren should reside in the capital, to serve as agents to the mission. In this view Kersten and some other brethren lived there and established a tailoring-business, in which they employed hired Negroes as journeymen and prentices. The Lord blessed the labour of their hands; so that in 1767 they were enabled to purchase a house, with a large piece of ground adjoining, which they laid out in a garden and burying-place. By degrees the prejudices against them

* *Per. Acct.* Vol. ii. p. 424.

subsided, and they gained the esteem both of high and low, and also of the government.

After patient waiting, the brethren Kersten and Rose had, at length, in the year 1768, the joy to perceive a desire excited in three of their Negroes to be instructed in the doctrines of the gospel. For this purpose they came every evening, when their daily work was finished, to Kersten, who could speak with them in their own language. These instructions were continued by Rose, during the absence of Kersten, who spent a few years among the Free-negroes. Two or three other brethren, who were sent to the assistance of Rose, fell asleep in Jesus soon after their arrival in the country. Amidst these distressing occurrences the Lord preserved the courage of brother Rose, and gave him pleasing tokens, that his labour was not in vain. Two of the slaves, whom he had instructed in christianity, closed their earthly pilgrimage in a very happy frame of mind, confidently relying on the atonement of Jesus, and filled with assured hope of life and immortality. During their sickness they cheerfully testified their faith in our Saviour.

In 1776 brother Kersten returned to PARAMARIBO, to undertake the general superintendence of the Surinam Mission. In July the first Negroe-slave was baptized by our missionary, and the following month seven more were, by this solemn rite, admitted to the church of Christ. These transactions were performed without the least molestation, either on the part of government, or the proprietors of the baptized Negroes.

Meanwhile two brethren had arrived from Europe as assistants in the mission. One of them commenced the business of a baker, in order to lessen the expense to the general missionary fund. Besides the building required for this establishment, their premises were further enlarged by the erection of a chapel in 1778, and the year after government granted a piece of land, without the precincts of the city, for a burying-place to the mission.

The eagerness of the Negroes to hear the gospel, and its saving and converting power on their souls, became more and more evident. There were in general about two hundred Negroes at the preaching, and scarce a month passed without the baptism of one or more; so that by the end of the year 1779, their congregation consisted of one hundred and one, besides forty, who were receiving special instruction, with a view to their admission to this sacred rite *.

The conduct of the christian Negroes clearly evinced, that their profession of the gospel was something more than a cold assent to certain truths and a formal observance of the external ordinances of religion. Indeed the sincerity of their faith was repeatedly put to a severe trial. Of this the following may serve as a proof. Governor Tessier, who had always shewn himself a sincere friend to the Brethren, before his return to Europe, in 1780, gave several public entertainments to the gentlemen of the colony. On these occasions he requested from the proprietors of estates the service of such of their slaves, as had been baptized. One day, while the heathen Negroes were diverting themselves at a dance, the governor went up to a female slave, whom he had known as a celebrated dancer, but, who had now joined the christian Negroes, and with a view to try the sincerity of her profession, offered her a present if she would join in the dance. But she remained firm to her purpose, steadfastly refused taking any part in the merriment, and at last asked him, whether he did not know, that at her baptism she had changed her name from *Krah* to *Elisabeth*, and was no longer the same person. The governor, much pleased with her firmness, replied in a friendly manner: "Yes, I know it, and you do right; keep in this mind till the end of your life, and it will be well for you †."

Two Negroe women, on another occasion, met with a still harder trial of their sincerity. Their mistress, a so-called christian, insisted on their joining in some necromantic tricks; but they declared, that on embracing the

* *Risler*, Part ii. Sec. 3. p. 208. † *Ibid*. 218.

christian faith, they had abjured all heathenish superstitions, and therefore could no longer take any part in them. Hereupon their mistress threatened them with the severest punishment, if they persisted in their refusal. Undismayed by this, they gave each other a reciprocal pledge, rather to suffer death itself, than deny the Lord, by again practising pagan sorceries.

An example of fortitude no less striking, was exhibited by a mulatto boy, only sixteen years of age. His master, who was a Jew, being informed of his baptism, threatened to have him bound and flogged. The boy courageously answered: "*That you may do; but you cannot thereby rob me of the Lord Jesus, and the grace he hath imparted to me in these days.*" Fortunately this poor lad met with a protector in an attorney, who had hired him, and by whose interference the Jew was prevented from doing him any injury*.

Though these facts plainly indicate, that the animosity against the Brethren, or perhaps rather against the gospel which they preached, had not entirely subsided; yet in general, their endeavours for the conversion of the Negroes, and the consistent conduct of the latter after their admission to the church, gained daily more esteem, so that most proprietors were pleased when their slaves attended the preaching. Exceptions in this respect were very rare, and if at any time a case occurred, in which a master inflicted stripes, or other ill treatment, on his slaves for their attendance at the Brethren's chapel, the Lord enabled them to bear such injuries with patience, and even to rejoice, that they were deemed worthy to suffer stripes for the name of Jesus.

A visitation to the missions in this country being deemed necessary, brother Liebisch, one of the directors of the missions, proceeded to PARAMARIBO in 1790, and during his stay succeeded in making several regulations and arrangements, which promised to promote the missionary cause in these parts.

* Brethren's Hist. Vol. iii. p. 314—315.

The war, which in the sequel broke out between Great Britain and Holland, rendered the situation of our missionaries very precarious. They were for many months cut off from all communication both with Europe and North America, provisions became scarce and rose to an enormous price, and, what was still more distressing, no assistants could come to them, though their accumulated and increasing labours required the accession of several missionaries. These difficulties, however, were considerably lessened after the English had taken possession of the colony.

Notwithstanding these external impediments, their exertions for the spiritual benefit of the Negroe slaves were crowned with success. Many were awakened and embraced the gospel; so that in 1800 the baptized Negroes amounted to three hundred and fifteen, besides a considerable number of catechumens and regular hearers at their chapel in PARAMARIBO.

As an additional instance, to those already related, of the unhealthiness of the climate and the devotedness of heart to God and his cause, required in persons, who engage in missionary labours in this country, it may here be mentioned, that in 1805 brothe Nitschke departed this life in the short space of a week after his arrival.

Such occurrences, which were by no means infrequent, not only proved very afflictive to the surviving missionaries, but greatly augmented their labours; for the Lord continued to prosper their work in a remarkable manner. In a letter, dated August the 30th, 1814, the missionaries remark: "The work of God among the Negroes in PARAMARIBO continues to increase, and we have great reason to rejoice, and take courage, when we see such marked proofs of the divine blessing upon our feeble ministry. Sometimes, indeed, occurrences happen which give us much pain, when people, who have begun well turn again aside, and follow the world and the will of the flesh. We mourn over all such as we are obliged to exclude from our fellowship on that account.

“ Our monthly prayer-days, as likewise the communion-days, are always distinguished by a particular experience of the grace and love of our Saviour towards his flock. Since the commencement of the year, forty-four adults, and eight children, have been baptized; forty-four have been made partakers of the Lord's Supper: eight adults, and eight children, have departed this life. There is also a continual accession of new people, who fill the vacancies occurring in this division, by the baptism of others. The meetings on Tuesday and Friday evenings, for the reading of the bible, are frequented by many hearers, particularly by strangers, whose behaviour is marked with such attention and devotion as one could hardly expect from people naturally restless and noisy.”

The benefit, derived by the Negroes from their attendance on the meetings for reading and expounding the holy scriptures, was greatly increased by the generous donation, from the British and Foreign Bible Society, of Dutch bibles and testaments, as it enabled them to read over at home and meditate upon, those portions of holy writ, which they had heard read and explained in the chapel. At the same time the directors of our missions provided for the instruction of the children, by publishing for their use an edition of the Summary of christian doctrine in Negroe-English. Since then they have likewise published the Harmony of the four gospels in the vernacular dialect of the Negroes. This increased the eagerness, not only of the children, but also of many adult persons to learn to read, in which several attained considerable proficiency.

According to the latest intelligence received from that quarter, ninety-one persons had been baptized in 1815, and the number of the congregation amounted to six hundred and sixty-three, of whom five hundred and fifteen were communicants.

SECTION VI.

Sommelsdyke.

THE missionaries in PARAMARIBO did not confine their labours to the regular ministry of the gospel in their own chapel in that city ; but by frequent visits to the circumjacent plantations endeavoured to diffuse the knowledge of God and our Saviour among the slaves in every part of the colony.

Government, approving of their laudable exertions, in the year 1785 consigned to them a piece of land on the river *Commewyne*, where a fortification had formerly stood, called SOMMELSDYKE. After taking possession of this ground, which contained about fifty acres, thickly overgrown with wood, and one entire swamp, our brethren were obliged to spend much time and money in clearing and draining it, before they could erect the necessary buildings. Having in some degree accomplished this by the aid of hired Negroes, the missionaries L. Haidt and Corn. Clausen moved thither in April 1786 ; but both of them finished their earthly pilgrimage in a few weeks, probably owing to the heavy damps rising from the land, which was not yet sufficiently drained. Two brethren from PARAMARIBO undertook the service at this station, till brother Wiez and his wife arrived there, from BAMBEY, in September.

In a religious point of view the prospect was very cheering. Their sermons were in a short time attended by upwards of a hundred and fifty hearers, among whom were Negroes from several adjoining estates. Before the end of the year above forty had been baptized, and the number of the regular catechumens amounted to upwards of one hundred and fifty.

Difficulties, however, were not wanting. Some proprietors of estates knew so little of the gospel, that they considered its diffusion among the slaves as perfectly

useless, and on this account would scarcely permit their attendance at church, much less promote the good cause, though they treated the missionaries, as neighbours, with every mark of civility. Other gentlemen indeed commended the exertions of the brethren, but refused permission to their slaves to go to SOMMELSDYKE, requiring that the missionaries should come and preach to them on their respective plantations, in which case they promised to give their Negroes sufficient time to receive religious instruction, and when baptized, they would occasionally allow them to go to church. The chief reason for these restrictions must be sought for, not so much in the aversion of some of the proprietors of slaves to the gospel, as in the difficulty attending their visits to SOMMELSDYKE. They could not get there in any way but by water. These little voyages were often dangerous, and even, when the slaves obtained permission to go, they could not always procure a boat to carry them. These circumstances obliged our missionaries to spend most of their time in visits to the different plantations*.

In March 1788 an event occurred, which increased the difficulties just mentioned, and impeded the progress of the mission. One day twelve Negroe women and one man went in an old crazy boat to SOMMELSDYKE. The harder they found it to obtain permission to go, and to procure a conveyance, the more eager were they to improve the opportunity, numbers pressed forward, and thus the boat was too heavily laden. They, however, reached SOMMELSDYKE without any accident, but on their return the boat sunk. Three Negroe women were drowned; the rest saved themselves by swimming. One of the women, who could swim, ventured three times into the water to assist others; but during her last effort her strength was exhausted, and she lost her own life while endeavouring to save that of others.

It was to be expected that this occurrence would deter many proprietors and managers of estates from suffering their Negroes to go to SOMMELSDYKE. Some of them

* Brethren's History, Vol. iii. p. 317—318.

indeed, after a friendly conversation with the missionaries, promised to provide a better boat for their Negroes, that they might not be prevented from going to church, acknowledging the great utility, resulting from their endeavours to instruct the slaves in christianity. One of the managers, however, did all he could to frustrate the benevolent intentions of the rest. He so increased the labour of those slaves, who belonged to the congregation at SOMMELSDYKE, that they could not attend divine worship on sunday*; and when the brethren came to his estate he would not suffer them to speak to the Negroes, and even threatened the latter with punishment, if he observed any of them salute the missionaries. Better disposed managers gave them occasionally a free day in the week, which was religiously observed like a sabbath. The manager of a certain estate always notified it to the missionaries whenever he gave his slaves one, or more free days, that they might improve such opportunities for the instruction of their hearers†.

Notwithstanding all the hindrances thrown in their way, our missionaries had the joy to see the work of conversion proceed in stillness, but with evident marks, that it was the work of *God* and not of *man*. At the close of 1789 upwards of a hundred baptized Negroes belonged to SOMMELSDYKE, besides many, who were enjoying regular instruction in the saving truths of the gospel; though within that very year a considerable number had been carried off by the smallpox‡.

No occurrences, in any degree calculated particularly to interest the reader, marked the progress of this mission in succeeding years. On the one hand, our brethren

* It is, alas! no uncommon thing, in this country, to oblige the Negroes to work on Sunday.

† Ibid. p. 319—321.

‡ This distemper, which had not been known in the country for twenty-four years, was brought thither in September 1789 by a slave ship. It raged with great violence, especially in the town of Paramaribo, where it proved far more fatal than on the plantations, upwards of seventy dying sometimes in one day. The whole number of deaths to the end of the year, was computed to exceed three thousand.

still met with occasional obstructions to their benevolent exertions from the stewards on some of the estates; but on the other hand they had many clear proofs that the Lord smiled on their labours, and that if *he* is pleased to prosper the work of his servants, no human opposition can prevent its progress. According to the latest intelligence, the congregation at SOMMELSDYKE consisted in 1816 of one hundred and four baptized Negroes, besides a number of catechumens. Many circumstances, related in the preceding section, might be repeated here, as they affected the missionary cause at this station no less than in PARAMARIBO.

On February 25th 1816 the British ceded the colony to the Dutch. The new governor promised his protection to our missionaries, agreeably to the express instructions he had received from the king of the Netherlands. It is only paying a just tribute of gratitude to the late English governor, general Bonham, to acknowledge the very kind attention he uniformly evinced towards our brethren, and the lively and generous interest he took in the mission.

Before concluding the history of the missionary labours of the United Brethren in South America, I shall present the reader with a list of the number of missionaries employed, and of the heathen converted by their means, from the beginning of the mission in this country, to the commencement of the present century, comprising a term of sixty-five years. During this period 159 brethren and sisters had served the mission, 75 of whom had departed this life in the country, 68 had returned to Europe and 21 were still actively engaged in the Lord's service on the different stations in Guiana. During the same period there have been baptized by them 855 Indians, 59 Free-negroes and 731 Negroe slaves and Mulattos, making a total of 1645 persons. Of this number 658 have died in the faith of the gospel, 594 were still living and enjoying the instruction of the missionaries, and the remaining 393 had forsaken the fellowship of the believers*.

* Risler, Part ii. Sec. 3. p. 221.

CHAP. V.

MISSION IN THE WEST INDIES.

THE WEST INDIES comprehend a number of larger and smaller islands, lying, nearly in the form of a crescent, between North and South America, extending across the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, from the north-west extremity of the Bahama islands, off the coast of Florida, to the island of Tobago, 120 miles from the coast of Terra Firma.

These islands have for a long series of years been in the possession of different European states. Those islands, in which the United Brethren have established missions, are either subject to the dominion of England, or belonging to the crown of Denmark. The population, besides the European settlers, consists chiefly of Negroes and Mulattos. The Negroes, having been imported from Africa for the purpose of cultivating the soil, were held in a state of the most degrading and cruel slavery, till after the passing of the Abolition act, by which their condition was considerably meliorated, at least in those islands, which are under British dominion.

It is presumed, that the reader is sufficiently acquainted with the situation, the climate and other circumstances, peculiar to the West Indies, so as to render further details on these subjects unnecessary. We may, therefore, without any additional remarks, proceed to the history of the missionary exertions of the Brethren narrating them in the order of time, in which they respectively commenced.

SECTION I.

Danish West India Islands.

IN the order of time the mission among the *Negroë slaves* in these islands, was the first of all the missionary exertions of the United Brethren. It commenced in the year 1732, when brother Leonard Dober *, accompanied by brother David Nitschman, left Herrnhut and proceeded to the island of St. Thomas. Many pious people, with whom they became acquainted on their journey, raised very strong objections against their undertaking †. Similar objections were repeated in Copenhagen, and the most appalling representations made to them of the difficulties and dangers, to which they would expose themselves. But they were not intimidated; and the unshaken trust, which they reposed in the help of the Lord, who they believed had called them to this work, at length induced several persons of distinction to interest themselves in their behalf. Some counsellors of state bade them farewell in these words: "Go, then, in the name of God; our Saviour chose fishermen to preach his gospel; and he himself was a carpenter and was called the son of a carpenter. ‡"

They arrived in St. Thomas on the 13th of December, ignorant in what manner and place they might obtain a livelihood; but God had provided for them. A friend in Copenhagen had, without their knowledge, written to a well disposed planter in the island, who received them into his house; and brother Nitschman, soon earned a sufficiency, to maintain them, at his trade as a carpenter.

Immediately after their arrival, they made inquiry for Anthony's sister Anna, and her brother Abraham §. They received the testimony of salvation by grace, through faith in Jesus, with demonstrations of heartfelt joy. It

* See p. 4. † The only person, who encouraged them in their work, was the countess of Stolberg in Wernigerode, who remarked, "that our Saviour was worthy, that his servants should be willing even to sacrifice their lives in his cause." ‡ Risler, Part ii. Sec. 2. p. 30. § See p. 2.

was not long before other Negroes visited them, and earnestly begged for instruction. This greatly animated our missionaries, who gladly endured reproach and poverty, when observing the eagerness, with which the poor slaves listened to the word of reconciliation *.

Many months had not elapsed, before the missionaries were obliged to separate, as brother Nitschman, who had only accompanied his friend, returned to Europe in April 1733. The faith of the latter was put to a very severe trial, being now left without any visible means of support, as he could not follow his occupation as a potter, owing to the want of clay of a proper quality. Yet he did not lose his courage; and in a few weeks, governor Gardelin, who was a pious man, made him the offer of being steward of his household. Dober accepted it on condition, that he should be permitted to instruct the Negroes, whenever his master did not require his services. But he soon found, that this situation left him too little leisure for the prosecution of his missionary calling, and therefore requested his dismissal in 1734. He now hired a small room in the village of *Tappus*, and by watching on the plantations and other services, earned a scanty livelihood, which enabled him to pay his rent, and procure bread and water; for he seldom had any thing better †. His serenity of mind, however, did not forsake him, having it now in his power to devote all his time to the instruction of the Negroes.

The year 1733 was signalized by very distressing occurrences in the Danish West Indies. Famine and contagious diseases carried off many people in St. Thomas. About the same time the Negroes in the island of St. Jan revolted, took possession of the Fort, and cruelly murdered all the Europeans, who had not time to escape. The rebellion continued above half a year, and the atrocities, committed by the insurgents, spread con-

* The language, spoken by the Negroes in the Danish Islands, is a mixture of Dutch and a low dialect of the German, which renders it very easy of acquisition to a native of Germany.

† See the Note on page 236.

sternation through the other islands, and both the white population and the Negroes were kept in constant terror of each other *.

These events rendered the labours of brother Dober doubly difficult; but while he was thus struggling with poverty and oppressed with many anxious cares, fourteen brethren and four sisters were on their way, partly destined for missionary service in St. Thomas, and partly designed to begin a colony in the island of St. Croix.

This voyage was one of the most perilous, made by any of our missionaries to these islands. They sailed from Stettin on the 12th of November 1733. As the crew and passengers amounted to nearly a hundred persons, they were exceedingly crowded. Our brethren were confined to a room, below the second deck, only ten feet square, and so low that they could not even sit upright, but were obliged mostly to lie on the floor. The hardships of their situation were greatly increased, as the stormy weather sometimes prevented their going on deck for several days. Stress of weather forced the captain to run into the harbour of Tremmesand in Norway, and to winter there. Not expecting to be so long detained in this place, they stayed on board for some time; but afterwards hired a room in the village, and by spinning, cutting wood, &c. earned enough to pay the rent. At the end of three months they once more set sail; but had again to encounter many hard gales, and when they reached the torrid zone they suffered extreme distress from the smallness of the apartment and want of water, which greatly debilitated them. After spending more than half a year on their journey and voyage they landed at St. Thomas on the 11th of June.

Two months after the arrival of this company, brother

* The rebellion was not suppressed till the governor sent a strong force of mulattos to the island. The rebels, finding resistance vain, resorted to the following horrid expedient, in order to avoid being made prisoners. One after the other suffered himself to be shot by the ringleaders, and when they had completed their murderous work, they shot themselves. *Risler, Part ii. Sec. 2. p. 14.*

Dober returned to Europe, having been chosen elder of the congregation at Herrnhut, in the place of brother Linner, who had entered into the joy of his Lord. After his removal the mission in St. Thomas suffered a temporary suspension. Those brethren, who had come out to succeed him in his labours, in a short time fell victims to the climate.

With a view to renew this mission, brother Frederic Martin and another brother arrived in St. Thomas in March, 1736. The former was in an eminent manner qualified for the work of a missionary, and endowed with peculiar talents for instructing the Negroes. The catechumens, left by brother Dober, greatly rejoiced at his arrival. Their number was daily increasing, so that in a few months, upwards of two hundred attended his instructions. On several of these the gospel displayed its converting power; and on the 30th of September three men were added to the church by holy baptism, as the first fruits of the Negroe slaves in this island. The benign influence of the gospel began to evidence itself, in a very striking manner, in the altered behaviour of many of those Negroes, who attended the meetings. This was acknowledged by several proprietors, and induced them to favour the mission. One of them assisted our brethren, who still lodged in the village of *Tappus*, to purchase a small plantation, of which they took possession in August 1737, and gave it the name of POSAUNENBERG.

On the other hand adversaries were not wanting, who opposed the work in every possible way, and rigorously forbade their slaves all intercourse with our brethren, thereby aiming at the total ruin of the mission. By false accusations they at length succeeded so far, that, towards the end of October, the missionaries were thrown into prison. But the word of God was not bound; the awakened Negroes continued to meet together for edification, and sometimes assembled in great numbers under the windows of the prison, where they joined in singing and prayer. These meetings likewise afforded their teachers an opportunity of testifying to them of the grace of God in Christ Jesus. Concerning this period brother Martin

writes: "Since our arrest the Negroe-congregation is daily increasing, and our Saviour strikingly manifests the power of his grace among them. Some white people also are brought to serious reflection, by our confinement. I believe the Lord will make it a blessing to the whole country. Even in the fort some good has been done. There is scarce a soldier now, who ventures to defame us, though at first they were wicked enough in this respect also. I cannot describe what the Lord is doing. May he enable us to be a light to our fellow men; and may he make us more faithful, more active and useful in his service, whether we remain in prison, or are set at liberty. I am determined, through the grace of God, to persevere, waiting on him to overrule all for his own glory. Be of good courage; many hundred persons in St. Thomas are praying to the Lord for our deliverance*."

While the missionaries were in confinement, and before they could transmit any intelligence of it to Europe, Count Zinzendorf resolved to visit St. Thomas. He took two brethren and their wives with him, to serve in the mission, and arrived in the island by the end of January 1739. He immediately waited on the governor, requesting the liberation of the missionaries. This was granted the next day, accompanied by an apology on the part of the governor for what had happened. He also made certain proposals, relative to the continuance of the mission; but they were of such a nature, that the Brethren could not accede to them, and therefore resolved to appeal to the king himself.

Count Zinzendorf was filled with astonishment at the extent of the work, in which the brethren were engaged. For by this time the number of the Negroes, who regularly attended the preaching of the gospel, amounted to eight hundred. They assembled every evening, as soon as their daily labour was done, and the Count frequently addressed them himself. Having in a solemn manner delivered a farewell-charge to them, the baptized followed him into the village. On their way they were attacked by some

* *Risler*, Part ii. Sec. 2 p. 31.

white people with sticks and drawn swords, and dispersed. Hereupon the white people proceeded to the Brethren's plantation, beat and wounded the Negroes, who were there, and during the absence of the missionaries, forced their way into the house, breaking and destroying all the furniture. The governor indeed, much to his honour, expressed his strong disapprobation of this outrage, and promised restitution of the damage they had sustained. The Count declared, that he desired no restitution, but only protection for his brethren, and liberty to preach to the Negroes. Notwithstanding the interference of the governor, similar acts of violence were committed soon after, and even the missionaries themselves were maltreated. For a while, therefore, it became necessary to keep the meetings in the wood, and appoint watch-men, to guard the congregation against any sudden attack. In a few weeks, however, these outrages were suppressed.

Before the Count's return to Europe, the Negroe-men gave him a petition to be presented to the king of Denmark, praying for liberty to be instructed in religion; the Negroe-women also gave him a similar petition to the queen. These documents, seconded by a written representation from the Count himself, had the effect, that an order was passed at the Danish Court, dated August 7th, 1739, securing liberty and protection to the Brethren, in preaching to the Negroes*.

* It will doubtless gratify most readers, to see the two petitions above referred to; I shall, therefore, in order not to break the thread of the narrative, insert as literal a translation of each of them as possible, in this note. 1st. *Petition to the King*: "Most gracious lord King! Now we have hope that your majesty will command, that we may continue to learn to know the Lord Jesus. We remain immoveable, if it please God our Lord; though we are greatly oppressed by men, who come and beat and cut us, when massa teaches us (the knowledge of) our Saviour. They burn our books and say, 'the Negroes must not be saved; a baptized Negro is fuel for hell-fire.' They have put the brethren, whom God hath sent to us, and who are the only survivors of twenty, for three months into the fort, and now they intend to expel them the country. They all appeal to your majesty and say: 'You had forbidden, that the Negroes should be made acquainted with our Saviour, and would shortly send massa Martinus away.' But we do not believe this, and we pray your majesty, to permit us to be instructed in the knowledge of the Lord, and remain in connection with the Brethren's church; for we wish to go with them to our Saviour. We will be obedient to our masters in all things; we only wish to send our souls to heaven to the Lord

The sufferings of our brethren, however, did not entirely cease; but they were attended with very salutary effects. On the one hand, they deterred insincere professors from associating with the true and upright believers; and on the other hand, the latter were refined by this fiery trial and established in the faith. Many years after they used to speak of this period, as a season of great searching of heart, and to remark, that their love to Jesus was so fervent, that they were ready joyfully to suffer every thing for his sake; and that the most cordial brotherly love prevailed among them. They might be said to give themselves wholly unto prayer; for, besides meeting every evening, as soon as their work was done, for prayer and exhortation, they made a regulation among themselves, that one or more should spend the whole night, in rotation, in prayer.

The remark of our missionaries, when imprisoned, that the work of the Lord was not bound, continued to be strikingly verified in subsequent years. Besides preaching the gospel on their own plantation, the proprietors

Jesus. Formerly we have defrauded our masters, stolen provisions, run away, and been idle. But now things are very different, as the masters themselves very well know. Many a Negroe, for his wicked deeds, has resolutely suffered his hands and feet to be cut off; we will cheerfully put our necks under the axe for the Lord Jesus and his congregation, if our masters, as they say, will kill us. God, the Lord, bless our most gracious King a thousand times. Written in St. Thomas the 15th of February, in the name of more than six hundred and fifty scholars of the Lord Jesus, who are instructed by massa Martinus. Signed by Peter and three other native assistants."

2nd. Petition to the queen, written by Magdalene, one of the female assistants: "Great Queen! When I was in Papas in Africa, I served Mr. Mahu. Now when I have come into the land of the white people, they will not suffer me to serve the Lord Jesus. The white people will not obey him, and they may do as they please. But when the poor, black brethren and sisters wish to serve the Lord Jesus, they are looked upon as *maroons* (run-away Negroes.) If it seemeth good to the Queen, may your majesty pray to the Lord Jesus for us, and pray likewise the King, that he may permit massa Martinus to preach the word of the Lord, that we may learn to know the Lord; and that he may baptize us, Negroes. The Lord preserve and bless you, together with your son and daughter, and the whole family. I shall not cease praying to the Lord Jesus for you. Written in the name of more than two hundred and fifty Negroe-women, who love the Lord Jesus."—Risler, Part ii. Sec. 2. p. 40—42.

of three estates permitted them to visit their Negroes, to instruct them in reading, and proclaim the glad tidings of salvation to them. In 1740 brother Martin writes : " Scarce a day passes but some of these poor creatures call upon us, bemoaning their sin and misery, and weeping for grace. When we walk out, we frequently observe one here and another there, praying and crying with tears to the Lord Jesus, for cleansing from sin by his precious blood. The power of the word of atonement, in convincing them of sin, and in magnifying the riches of divine grace, is truly astonishing *."

In this manner the work of the Lord was constantly increasing ; on one day forty, and on another ninety Negroes were added to the church by baptism. But this extension of the work, while it gladdened the hearts of our missionaries, required service from them, which almost exceeded the strength of the stoutest constitution. They were subject to repeated attacks of illness, and scarce a year elapsed, but one, or more finished their earthly career ; and though in the European congregations persons were always found, who were willing to supply the places of those, who had entered into rest ; yet this mission was continually needing a fresh accession of labourers.

In 1747 brother Martin paid a visit to Europe, and, having presented a memorial to the king of Denmark, obtained a new royal rescript in favour of the mission, by which every thing, relative to its uninterrupted continuance, was regulated according to the wishes of the Brethren.

Two years after bishop Johannes von Watteville held a visitation in the three Danish islands, for the purpose of inquiring into the state of the mission and assisting the brethren employed in it, with his advice and counsel. He found that the labour of the missionaries had been less prosperous for some time, comparatively few had been admitted to baptism, many of the baptized had been

discouraged by a too rigid exercise of discipline, and some of the missionaries had been disheartened and nearly lost their hopes. It was, therefore, resolved to treat all those, who had withdrawn, with kindness, and in every case, when their professions appeared sincere, to receive them again into fellowship. The consequence was, that a new awakening arose, which extended to the yet unbaptized catechumens, and by degrees spread through the whole island. Every evening the meetings were frequented by two or three hundred, and on Sundays by eight or nine hundred. On one Sunday no fewer than three hundred and eighty Negroes requested to have their names enrolled among the catechumens; and the number of these amounted in a short time to nine hundred, not reckoning from two to three hundred children. During bishop Watteville's stay in the island, which lasted two months, above a hundred persons were baptized. Among these were several old, blind and lame people, who came from a considerable distance. Hitherto the missionaries had been scrupulous about the baptism of infants, but they now came to a resolution, to baptize the children of believing parents as soon after the birth as convenient.

The governor and most other gentlemen in this and the two adjacent islands behaved with great politeness to bishop Watteville, and gave the christian Negroes the testimony of good conduct, requesting that the vacancies, occasioned by the deaths or removals of missionaries, might be filled up as soon as possible.

Among those zealous servants of God, who about this time were called to receive the reward of their labours, was brother Frederick Martin, who entered into the joy of his Lord in 1750, after faithfully serving the Negroes with the gospel for fifteen years, and that during the most difficult period of the mission*.

After the return of bishop Watteville, the mission in

* It is worthy of notice, that besides him, nearly fifty brethren and sisters, employed in the missionary establishments in the three Danish islands, had departed this life, within seventeen years. *Risler*, Part ii. Sec. 2. p. 52.

this island continued in a flourishing state. In 1753 the brethren changed the name of their plantation of POSAUNENBERG, calling it NEW HERRNHUT; and having purchased an estate on the opposite side of the island, they named it NISKY. In both these places they published the glad tidings of salvation to great numbers of eager hearers; and upwards of an hundred were annually added to the church by baptism. They had also a small meeting-house in the village of *Tappus*, chiefly for the convenience of the sick and infirm. They likewise preached on several estates, and many hundred children, living dispersed through the whole island, were diligently visited and instructed by brother Ronner. They were greatly assisted in their labours by the native assistants, of whom they had twenty-four, and whose private exhortations no less than their public testimonies of the gospel, were often strikingly blessed to their countrymen. Most of the planters became more and more convinced, that the instruction of the Negroes tended to their own advantage, and therefore gladly promoted their baptism and attendance at church, requesting the missionaries frequently to visit them. Government also, both at home and abroad, acknowledged the beneficial effects of their labours, and was ready to afford them protection, whenever required.

In order to trace the beginning of the missionary establishments of the Brethren in the adjacent Danish islands, it is necessary to go back a few years in the narrative.

In the year 1733, the West India and Guinea Company at Copenhagen made a purchase of the large and fine island of St. Croix, which had been abandoned by the French for the space of forty years, and having remained so long uncultivated, had become a perfect wilderness. Among other proprietors, the lord chamberlain, Count De Pleiss, who had kindly patronised the mission to Greenland, possessed six estates in this island. With a view to the cultivation of these lands, and the instruction of his Negroes, he applied to count Zinzendorf for two brethren as overseers on each of his plantations. The request was no sooner made known to the congregation

sionary establishment in that island. A year or two after, brother Martin, being there on a visit, succeeded in purchasing a small estate for the Brethren, of which they took possession in the beginning of 1744; and in July the same year brother Martin baptized two men and two women, being the first Negroes in this island, who by this rite were added to the christian church.

During the first years of their abode here, the missionaries had to encounter various difficulties. The unhealthiness of the air and the hard labour, to which they cheerfully submitted, in order to lessen the expense of the mission, occasioned the deaths of many in a short time after their arrival. And this was rendered doubly afflictive, as in case of the departure of an ordained missionary, who had been confirmed by the King, impediments were thrown in the way of his successors, if they had not by name obtained the royal confirmation. In the sequel, however, these obstacles were removed; and since then our Brethren have been uniformly protected in the enjoyment of their privileges*. No missionary, however, was stationed here for a constancy till the year 1753, when brother Ohneberg moved hither.

A few years after the mission in St. Croix had regularly commenced, the attention of our Brethren was directed to the small island of St. Jan, likewise belonging to the crown of Denmark. Previously to this they had occasionally visited on the island, as some of their converts from St. Thomas had been sold to proprietors on it†. But in 1741 a circumstance occurred, which gave a new impulse to their exertions. Jens Rasmus, a pious man and overseer on a plantation, had formed an acquaintance with our brethren in St. Thomas, and begun to preach to the Negroes under his care. At his request brother Martin, and other missionaries from St. Thomas, assisted him in

* Brethren's History, Vol. i. 513.—Among those missionaries, who at this time entered into rest, we must not forget to mention brother Israel. His active spirit, which had excited him to exertions far beyond his bodily strength, left its frail tenement on the 2nd of August 1743, and joined the faithful dead, who have died in the Lord. Risler, Part ii. Sec. 2. p. 65.

† Risler, Part ii. Sec. 2. p. 49.

this labour of love, and occasionally abode some days, or even weeks, in the island, instructing the slaves. Their testimony of Jesus and his atonement was attended with a blessing, though at first they had to encounter difficulties of various kinds. The work here was for a number of years cared for by the missionaries in St. Thomas, till brother J. Brukker came hither in 1754, and took up his residence on an estate, purchased sometime before and called BETHANY.

Our Brethren had thus, by the grace of God, succeeded to extend their benevolent labours to the three islands in the West Indies, under the dominion of Denmark. The great Head of his church, in whose name and strength they had begun the work, and by whose blessing on their exertions they had atchieved much during the first years of poverty, opposition and manifold hindrances, did not forsake this vineyard, nor those who laboured in it, in times of comparative ease and tranquillity, which now succeeded.

As soon as St. Croix and St. Jan had been supplied with resident missionaries, the good effects of it became visible in the larger auditories, which attended the preaching of the gospel, and the increased number of those, who were engrafted into the church by holy baptism. In St. Croix it annually amounted to upwards of a hundred, and in St. Jan it exceeded fifty. In the former place the missionaries resided for some time on one of the Company's plantations, called PRINCESS, till they found means of purchasing an estate of four acres, to which they gave the name of FRIEDENSTHAL, and erected a church and dwelling-house on it.

In 1755 these islands were ceded by the West India and Guinea-company to the King, who appointed a governor-general for all the islands. This gentleman fixed his residence in St. Croix, and on every occasion showed himself the friend and protector of the mission. This was peculiarly manifest during an insurrection of the Negroes, which had for its object the massacre of all the white inhabitants on christmas-night 1759. Some malicious

people accused several of the Negroes, baptized by the brethren, of being implicated in the conspiracy; but their innocence was fully proved by the delinquents themselves. On this occasion the governor acted towards them like a father. By his advice they omitted the large assemblies of the Negroes, while the commotion lasted; and did not begin them again, till they had obtained his permission; and in order to authorize the meetings and encourage the Negroes in their attendance, he himself and some other gentlemen were present. Not long after he had a fresh opportunity of evincing his good will towards the mission. An order having been issued, that no Negroe should be seen in the streets, or roads, after seven o'clock in the evening, he exempted from this restriction all those, who attended the meetings of the Brethren, and could produce a certificate signed by one of their teachers*.

In consequence of the war, all intercourse with the English colonies was prohibited. This occasioned great scarcity of provisions, which was the more severe as it succeeded a long continued drought. Many Negroes perished with absolute hunger. Though our missionaries had but a scanty supply themselves, they did not suffer any of their Negroes to be in real want, and even assisted those on other plantations to the utmost of their ability.

Of the internal state of the mission, at this period, our brethren gave the following report: "By the preaching of the gospel many a slave of sin has attained to the knowledge of his misery, and to the enjoyment of grace in the blood of Jesus; on which account we cheerfully devote soul and body in his service, to help to gather in the reward of the travail of his soul from among the heathen. In this we

* Brethren's History, Vol. i. p. 480, 481. This order seems to have been made in consequence of the fears entertained by some planters, that the Negroes, under cover of attending the meetings, (which must be held in the evening as they have no leisure allowed them in the day,) would meditate some new mischief. As a pretext for this measure they alleged the fact, that in 1760 four baptized Negroes, who, however, had long ago been separated from the brethren, were found among a band of seventy slaves, who were running away on account of harsh treatment, but being overtaken, had first thrown their wives and children into the sea, and then, with the exception of eight persons, jumped in themselves. Brethren's History, Vol. i. p. 542.

are obliged to conform to their circumstances, and must in general employ the night for their service. The baptized are increasing in self-knowledge and becoming more grounded in the faith. What neither law, nor the most rigorous discipline of their overseers, can accomplish, is effected by the doctrine of Christ's sufferings. Of this the masters are, for the most part, so fully sensible, that they are pleased, when their slaves go to our church. The children have their separate meetings, and are visited from time to time, but as they are very early employed in all kinds of labour, we cannot attend to them with that care which we could wish *."

This pleasing state of the mission continued in subsequent years. The *Buffals*, (i. e. Negroes newly imported from Africa,) in particular manifested a great desire of hearing the word of God and being saved.

In 1765 two disastrous events occurred. By the carelessness of other people, the mission-house at the west end of St. Croix, lately erected, took fire and was burnt down. In St. Jan the church was thrown down by a storm, but rebuilt the next year, to the great joy of the Negroes, who had been obliged to meet in the open air, and to forego the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

In 1767 seventeen slaves, belonging to the congregation in St. Croix, were carried to St. Eustatia. Here they were visited the following year by a missionary, and exhorted to constancy and faithfulness; and some regulations were made among them tending to their edification.

The number of communicants in St. Thomas, had so much increased, that it was found necessary to administer this ordinance, not only at NEW-HERRNHUT, as had been the case hitherto, but also at NISKY, where a new church had been erected. The rebuilding of the mission-house, and the erection of a church at the west end of St. Croix, were also completed, and brother Melchior Schmidt, with his wife, moved thither in May 1771. This place received the name of FRIEDENSBURG.

* Brethren's History, Vol. I. p. 549.

The following year was a period of much distress, but also of many mercies. In the night of the 31st of August, a hurricane of unusual violence did considerable damage in all the three islands, but particularly in St. Croix. The newly-built house in FRIEDENSBURG was moved out of its place and greatly injured; and in FRIEDENSTHAL the church, the dwelling-houses and all the offices were blown down. Our brethren and sisters, who had sought an asylum in the cellar, were for several hours kept in constant jeopardy of their lives, but were mercifully preserved. This tempest was succeeded by a general scarcity, famine and sickness. Great numbers died, especially Negroes. Within a few months several brethren and sisters, employed in the mission, were removed to a better world. This greatly augmented the labours of the survivors; but they were powerfully strengthened and encouraged in their work by the pleasing progress of the mission. The external distresses, they had experienced, seemed to awaken a new desire in the Negroes to attain to a knowledge of those things, which belonged to their true peace. New people constantly flocked to the preaching, and though in FRIEDENSTHAL, it was kept for nearly a whole year in the open air, till the new church was built; the auditory mostly amounted to a thousand or upwards; and many were every month added to the church by baptism.

A company of six missionaries, sailing for these islands in 1776, suffered shipwreck on the 30th of November off *Walsey*, one of the Shetland isles. But being very near the shore, they were all saved except one sister, who falling in among the wreck, could not be disentangled from the rigging. The proprietor of the isle, John Bruce Stewart, treated them with great hospitality, till they found an opportunity to go to Norway; from whence they proceeded to St. Thomas the following February.

The rapid progress of the mission in St. Croix rendered it desirable to obtain a third station, as the two settlements of FRIEDENSTHAL and FRIEDENSBURG, were too far distant for those Negroes, who resided in the centre

of the island. The wish of our Brethren in this respect, was gratified in 1778, when a well disposed lady offered them the purchase of an estate, very conveniently situated for this purpose, and which they called FRIEDENS-FIELD.

Being fifty years, on the 21st of August 1782, since the beginning of this mission, and also of the missionary labours of the Brethren in general, this important event was celebrated with joyful solemnity in all the three islands. From the reports of our missionaries at that time it appears, that within this period, they had baptized 8833 adult Negroes and 2974 children; of these 2381 adults and 975 children had died. And of the missionaries and their assistants, their wives and children, 127 had entered into rest during these fifty years.

In the same year our Brethren bought a house and a piece of ground in another part of the island of St. Jan, to accommodate those Negroes, who lived at too great a distance from BETHANY, regularly to attend the meetings. In this place, which was called EMMAUS, a church was soon erected, and a missionary appointed for its service. Not only the slaves, but many of the white inhabitants in the neighbourhood, rejoiced at this establishment, declaring that they would diligently improve the opportunity thus afforded them, to join in divine worship.

The directors of the missions, considering that a visitation to these islands, by one of their number, might in various respects prove beneficial, brother John Loretz undertook this important commission. He arrived in St. Croix early in the year 1784, and spent several weeks here and in St. Thomas, in making himself acquainted with all the circumstances of the mission, and in deliberating with our brethren and the native assistants on the best means of promoting the great work, in which they were engaged. Among other measures, it was resolved to bestow more time and labour in translating select portions of holy writ into the vernacular tongue of the Negroes. Brother Auerbach, who had occupied his leisure in this way, undertook the translation of the Sundays' gospels and epistles,

of the harmony of the four evangelists, and the catechism, entitled "Summary of the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles." A severe attack of fever so debilitated brother Loretz, that he found himself unable to visit the island of St. Jan. He however obtained every necessary information from the missionaries, which enabled him, on his return, to give a full and satisfactory account of this interesting mission to the directors *.

During this year our Brethren experienced another encouraging proof of the benevolence of government. In consequence of a rumour, that the slaves at the west end of the island of St. Croix were plotting another rebellion, many were put into confinement, and a proclamation was issued prohibiting the Negroes from being seen in the streets after six o'clock in the evening; but a clause was at the same time inserted in this order, by which all those Negroes, who were going to the mission-church in FRIEDENSBURG, were exempt from this restriction.

In 1784 the mission in these islands sustained a very serious loss, in consequence of the departure of brother Martin Mack. He had joined the church of the Brethren in 1731. A few years after he went to America, assisted the late Rev. George Whitefield in the erection of Nazareth, and took an active part in the building of Bethlehem. Afterwards he was employed for almost twenty years in the mission among the North American Indians, during a period of persecution and many dangers †. In 1762 he came to the Danish West Indies, as superintendent of all the missionary establishments of the Brethren in these islands; and during the space of twenty-two years, spent all the energies of his body and mind in the zealous discharge of the important duties of his office. His fellow-labourers loved and esteemed him as a man of tried integrity and unabating ardour in the noble cause in which he was engaged, and who had grown grey in the service of his Lord. The governor-general, besides many private gentlemen, honoured his funeral with their presence, as the last testimony of respect they

* Brethren's History, Vol. iii. p. 21—34. † Ibid. Vol. i. p. 329.

See also p. 131 of this work.

could give to one, whose memory will be held in deserved veneration as long as the inhabitants of these islands shall feel the value of the gospel themselves, and know how to appreciate the services of those, who spend health and strength, yea life itself, in its propagation*.

After the decease of this faithful servant of Christ, it was found more expedient to commit the general superintendency of the mission, not to one individual, but to a committee, consisting of one, or more missionaries from each settlement. The advantages of this regulation were soon apparent. New zeal and activity on the part of the missionaries, and new attention to the gospel on the part of their converts and hearers, became manifest. Many were baptized; those, who had been of long standing in the church, were excited to increasing diligence in making their calling and election sure; even such, as had been excluded on account of misconduct, were led to serious self-examination, and, on giving evidence of sincere repentance, restored to the fellowship of the believers.

At the same time difficulties were not wanting, which occasionally impeded the pleasing progress of the mission. In one instance, the increasing number of Roman Catholic proprietors diminished the auditories of our brethren. For these gentlemen, not only employed their slaves till a late hour on saturday evening, but even obliged them to work on the Lord's-day, and thus deprived them of the bare possibility of attending the church. Some of these masters required their slaves to bring them a stipulated sum of money every week, which they must earn in the best manner they could. Money being scarce at that time, they had but a poor chance of earning much; and this tempted many Negroes to resort to dishonest and fraudulent practices, in order to avoid punishment, which was most rigorously inflicted, if they failed in their payment.

A difficulty of a new kind was experienced by our missionaries in St. Croix. As the number of proprietors, who

* Brethren's History, Vol. iii. p. 35—36.

spoke the English language increased, that tongue by degrees predominated and nearly superseded the Creol. In consequence of this, few of the missionaries could render themselves sufficiently intelligible to the slaves, as many of the latter understood neither Creol nor English. Brother Schaukirk, however, commenced regular preaching in the English language.

An uncommon drought, and consequently unproductive harvest in 1789, occasioned distresses of various kinds. Many proprietors were not able to maintain their slaves; numbers, therefore, perished from absolute want, and others were by the pinchings of hunger driven to acts of dishonesty. Even some, who were members of the Brethren's church, yielded to the power of temptation and thus caused their teachers much sorrow; the major part, however, were enabled by divine grace, rather to suffer every extremity and even death itself, than resort to unlawful means of supplying their wants. The rectitude of their conduct was so well known, that they were constantly employed as overseers and watchmen on the plantations. Notwithstanding this decisive proof of the beneficial influence of the gospel, there were still some proprietors and stewards, who made use of every artifice, and even resorted to severe punishment, to prevent their Negroes from attending the church. The native assistants were, in particular, exposed to persecutions of this kind.

On the part of government, however, the mission continued to enjoy respect and protection. In consequence of some new regulations in the post-office, our Brethren obtained, with the consent of the king, the privilege, of carrying on their correspondence free of postage. The governor-general, Count Schimmelman, before his return to Copenhagen, assured them that he would, at all times, serve them to the utmost of his power. The commandant in St. Thomas, colonel Malleville, also shewed himself their sincere friend. He was a regular attendant on their worship, and was not ashamed publicly to avow his connection with the Brethren. A gentleman of distinction once speaking, in very disrespectful and slanderous

terms, of the missionaries, the colonel replied: "that he would avow before God and man, that he acknowledged them for his brethren, and deemed it a favor to have fellowship with them *.

The unusual drought, mentioned before, lasted between three and four years, and brought many evils in its train. Sickness and famine prevailed in every quarter; and water became so scarce; that it was sold at a considerable price. Many slaves were obliged to work hard, without getting any thing to eat; great numbers consequently died from want. The missionaries did all in their power to relieve the necessitous members of their church, and in this act of charity they were assisted by donations from our congregations in Denmark and Germany. The want of money induced several proprietors to sell their slaves to other islands, chiefly those belonging to France and Spain; whereby many christian Negroes were separated from their teachers and the fellowship of the believers.

Though these distresses threw various obstacles in the way, yet the progress of the mission was not interrupted. Many new people attended the preaching of the gospel, and manifested a real hunger after the meat which endureth unto everlasting life; and in one year two hundred and forty Negroes were baptized by our missionaries in the three islands:

A violent hurricane raged in the islands of St. Thomas and St. Jan on the 12th and 13th of August 1799. The damage done on the plantations, in some of which scarce a house remained standing, to the sugar-fields, and also to the shipping, was very great. Many people lost their lives. Of the missionary settlements that at BETHANY in St. Jan suffered most severely. On the morning of August the 12th, the church fell with a tremendous crash, the broken pieces of timber being carried a considerable distance into the fields. By the mercy of God the family of our brethren and sisters were preserved from all personal harm, though they were in

* Brethren's History, Vol. iii. p. 275.

constant apprehension of being buried under the ruins of their house, which shook and trembled in an alarming manner.

In the year 1797 the mission was again visited by one of the directors from Europe, brother John Renatus Verbeek. During his stay at NEW-HERNHUT in St. Thomas he made the observation, that the increase of this congregation, within the last years, had not been so great as formerly. This apparent declension was the natural consequence of the long period, during which the gospel had been preached in this island, whereby almost every plantation was supplied with a number of christian Negroes. The island of St Croix, which is the largest and most populous of the three*, still presented the widest field for missionary exertions. St Jan, the least in natural extent, contained also a comparatively small number of converts †.

Brother Leupold and his wife, together with a single sister, destined for the service of this mission, and who were sailing for St. Thomas in 1798, had the misfortune to be captured by an English privateer, on the 11th of October, and carried to the island of Tortola. Here they suffered much distress, being kept nearly five days without food, except once when they found an opportunity of buying some fish. They were left whole days without a drop of water. Their ignorance of the English language increased their difficulty, till, through the kind interference of a German captain, they obtained permission to go with another vessel to St. Thomas ‡.

In the performance of their often arduous duties our missionaries made daily experience, that "the joy of the Lord was their strength." The power of the gospel evidenced itself in their converts by enabling them to "adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour" by a walk generally

* According to a rough computation, made in 1783, there were in St. Thomas six thousand, in St. Jan two thousand and in St. Croix thirty thousand Negroes. [Brethren's History, Vol. iii. p. 28.] And their numbers were probably rather diminished than increased during the late years of drought.

† Brethren's History, Vol. iv p. 373.

‡ Ibid. p. 403.

consistent with their profession. This the more strongly attested the reality of their faith, as attempts were not wanting to seduce them from their steadfastness. Some impious masters even resorted to acts of cruelty, to tempt them to the commission of sin. Instances also occurred, in which the poor creatures were most severely punished for the slightest fault *. But the grace of God enabled them to bear the one with christian meekness and patience, and resist the other by "taking the shield of faith and the helmet of salvation." Influenced by the precepts of the word of God they meekly submitted to the galling yoke of slavery, and not unfrequently recognized a gracious providence overruling it for the salvation of their souls. Thus an old Negroe once remarked: "Though I was kidnapped in my native country, and thievishly sold, yet I feel no resentment against those who did it; for I believe I was brought hither by the will of God; and I cannot be sufficiently thankful to our Saviour, that he has deemed me worthy, in preference to many others, to hear his word, by which I have learned to know the way of salvation †.

M. von Malleville, hitherto commandant of St. Thomas, being appointed governor-general in 1796, took up his residence in St. Croix, being the seat of the government. But the pleasure of our brethren in having this sincere friend in the island, was of very short duration. October 11th he was seized with an apoplexy, and on the 22d departed this life in confident reliance on the atonement of Jesus. Agreeably to his request, his remains were interred in the burying-ground of the mission at FRIEDENSTHAL, a funeral oration having been previously delivered in the Dutch Calvinist church, (in which he had been educated) by the incumbent. All the inhabitants of these islands lost in him a man of the greatest probity,

* A Negroe-woman, having lost one of the pullets, committed to her care, her mistress was so exasperated, that she ordered her to be most severely beaten. Not satisfied with this, the master ordered the house of her husband to be set on fire, nor would he permit him to save any of their things. Conscience however smote him, and the next day he sent the Negroe 75 rixdollars (about £18.) to repair the damage. Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 408. It would be well if this had been the only instance of such barbarity. † Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 405.

who made it his constant and zealous care to promote their true welfare. The missionaries, in particular, were deprived of a sincere and active friend, who, in close fellowship of spirit with them, grounded all his hopes for time and eternity on the merit of Christ*. It must here be added, that our brethren have continued to enjoy the benevolence of succeeding governors, and in general, of all the proprietors; and, if different sentiments were entertained by any, they were too much ashamed openly to avow them.

Of the growing respect for our brethren and their labours two gratifying instances occurred about this time. In 1795 they were requested to supply the vacancy, which had occurred in the Dutch church at Christianstadt in St. Croix, by performing divine service in the same, till the arrival of the new minister in 1796. Two years later the heirs of Count Schimmelman made some regulations on their estates, by means of which our brethren could commence a regular school with all the Negroe children on those plantations. In St. Jan likewise the children were sent to the missionaries at EMMAUS for instruction. Their eagerness and progress in learning were highly satisfactory to their teachers†.

Among those of the christian Negroes, who during this period finished their race of sorrow and suffering here below, and entered into the joy of their Lord, the aged man Benjamin deserves to be particularly mentioned. He belonged to the Mandingo tribe, his father being a Mahomedan teacher; and in this religion he had educated his son, who remained in his native country till he was more than twenty years old. On his arrival in the West Indies he instructed his countrymen in the religion of his forefathers, using every effort to propagate and maintain the Mahomedan faith. At length, however, he yielded to the testimony and influence of the gospel, was baptized in 1779, and in 1796 closed his earthly pilgrimage in a joyful hope, of entering, not into a heaven of sensual delights, but into the true paradise of God ‡

* Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 413. † Ibid. Vol. iv. p. 414. ‡ Ibid. p. 405.

Hitherto these islands had remained undisturbed by those political commotions, which during this period agitated nearly the whole of Europe, and spread terror and perplexity even to distant parts of the globe. But early in the year 1801 this tranquillity was interrupted, in consequence of hostilities having commenced between the Danes and the British. In March an English fleet appeared off the coast of St. Thomas, and arrangements were made to repel force by force. The commandant, however, deeming resistance useless on account of the superior number and strength of the British, resolved to capitulate. The capitulation was signed that very evening by both parties, and early on the 19th the Fort was surrendered with the usual formalities. The islands of St. Croix and St. Jan also surrendered without resistance. Thus the effusion of human blood was happily prevented; nevertheless the mission was not wholly exempt from the burthens and troubles attendant on war. The price of provisions was greatly enhanced, the correspondence with the different settlements and with Europe was interrupted, and even their daily meetings were for a time suspended.

The establishment at FRIEDENSBURG in St. Croix felt the effects of the war most severely, the mission-house being occupied as an hospital for the British troops. Some of our brethren went to FRIEDENSTHAL, others were kindly lodged on a neighbouring plantation. For some time the regular service was continued in the chapel and attended by crowded auditories; but the smell of the sick and dying, becoming daily more offensive, rendered this no longer either safe or practicable. After the lapse of two months the hospital was removed to the west end of the island*.

Towards the close of the same year the mission was deprived of one of the most intelligent and useful native assistants, who for more than fifty years had walked worthily of his calling by the gospel, namely the Negroe Cornelius, who entered into rest in the year 1801.

* Per. Acct. Vol. iii. p. 168.

This man was in many respects distinguished among his countrymen, which will render the following brief sketch of his life peculiarly interesting.

Above fifty years ago he became concerned for the salvation of his soul, and felt a strong impulse to attend the preaching of our missionaries, and their private instructions. However, he could not at once forsake his heathenish customs. It happened once that he attended a merry-making of his countrymen. Even into this house of riot the good shepherd followed his poor straying sheep. Our late brother Frederic Martin passing by, and being made attentive to the uproar, looked in at the door and immediately espied his scholar Cornelius. He beckoned to him to come out, and in a friendly, but serious and emphatic address, represented to him, that it was not becoming for one, who had declared, that he would give his heart to our Saviour, to attend such meetings as these. "Here," said the missionary, "the devil has his work, and you have assured me that you will not be his slave. But now I discover that your heart is still in his power, for you love the vanities of the world, and the company of the children of disobedience, in whom he rules. It would, therefore, be better that you left off coming to our meetings and to the school." This offended him greatly and he thought, "What is that to the white man, and what do I care for him?" However, his amusement was spoiled for that time; he went home much displeased, and resolved never more to visit the brethren, or attend their meetings. But his heart was not at rest, and his convictions grew so strong that he could not sleep at night. The address of the missionary sounded continually in his ears, and made so strong an impression upon him that he altered his mind and visited him. Being received, not, as he feared, with displeasure, but with great cordiality, he was exceedingly affected, and with tears described the distress of his mind during the preceding days.

In 1749 he was baptized, and ever since remained faithful to the grace conferred upon him. He had an humbling and growing sense of the depravity of his heart,

but also made daily progress in the knowledge and grace of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

God had blessed him with a good natural understanding. He had learned the business of a mason well, and had the appointment as master-mason to the royal buildings, in which employment he was esteemed by all who knew him, as a clever, upright and disinterested man. He laid the foundation of each of the six chapels, belonging to our mission in these islands. He was able to write and speak the Creol, Dutch, Danish, German and English languages; which gave him a great advantage above the other Negroes. Till 1767 he was a slave in the royal plantation, afterwards belonging to count Schimmelman. He first purchased the freedom of his wife, and then laboured hard to gain his own liberty, which he effected after much entreaty and the payment of a considerable ransom. God blessed him and the work of his hands in such a manner, that he could also by degrees purchase the emancipation of his six children.

In 1754 he was appointed assistant in the mission. After his emancipation, he greatly exerted himself in the service of the Lord, especially among the people of his own colour and spent whole days, and often whole nights, in visiting them on the different plantations. He possessed a peculiar talent for expressing his ideas with great clearness, which rendered his discourses pleasing and edifying as well to white people as to Negroes. Yet he was by no means elated by the talents he possessed. His character was that of an humble servant of Christ, who thought too meanly of himself to treat others with contempt. To distribute unto the indigent and assist the feeble, was the delight of his heart, and they always found in him a generous and sympathizing friend and faithful adviser.

While thus zealously exerting himself in promoting the salvation of his countrymen, he did not neglect the concerns of his family. We have already seen how sedulously he cared for their temporal prosperity, in working hard to purchase their freedom. But he was more solici-

tous for the welfare of their souls. God blessed his instructions, and he had the joy of seeing his whole family share in the salvation of the Lord. Being found faithful, they were employed as assistants in the mission.

The infirmities of old age increasing upon him, he ardently longed to depart and be with Christ. A constant cough and pain in his side damped his great activity, caused occasional dejection of mind, and seemed at times to shake his faith and fortitude. He now and then complained of a declension of his love to the Lord Jesus; and once, while meditating on that text: "I have somewhat against thee because thou hast left thy first love," he exclaimed: 'Ah! I too, have left my first love!' A few days before his end, being visited by one of the missionaries, he said 'I ought to have done more, and loved and served my Saviour better. Yet I firmly trust that he will receive me in mercy, for I come to him as a poor sinner, having nothing to plead but his grace, and righteousness through his blood.' His children and several of his grandchildren having assembled round his bed, he addressed them in a very solemn and impressive manner to the following effect:

"I rejoice exceedingly, my dearly beloved children, to see you once more together, before my departure; for I believe that my Lord and Saviour will soon come and take your father home to himself. You know, dear children, what my chief concern has been respecting you, as long as I was with you; how frequently I have exhorted you not to neglect the day of grace, but to surrender yourselves with soul and body to your Redeemer, and to follow Him faithfully. Sometimes I have dealt strictly with you, in matters which I believed would bring harm to your souls, and grieve the Spirit of God, and I have exerted my parental authority to prevent mischief: but it was all done out of love to you. However, it may have happened, that I have sometimes been too severe. If this has been the case, I beg you, my dear children, to forgive me; O forgive your poor dying father."

Here he was obliged to stop, most of the children

weeping and sobbing aloud. At last one of his daughters recovered herself, and said, 'We, dear father, *we* alone have cause to ask forgiveness, for we have often made your life heavy, and have been disobedient children.' The rest joined in the same confession. The father then continued: "Well, my dear children, if all of you have forgiven me, then attend to my last wish and dying request. Love one-another! Do not suffer any quarrels and disputes to arise among you after my decease. No, my children,' raising his voice, 'love one-another cordially: Let each strive to shew proofs of love to his brother or sister; nor suffer yourselves to be tempted by any thing to become proud; for by that you may even miss of your soul's salvation, but pray our Saviour to grant you lowly minds and humble hearts. If you follow this advice of your father's, my joy will be complete, when I shall once see you all again in eternal bliss, and be able to say to our Saviour; here Lord is thy poor, unworthy Cornelius and the children thou hast given me. I am sure our Saviour will not forsake you; but I beseech you, do not forsake *him*.' He fell gently asleep in Jesus on the 29th of November, being according to his own account eighty-four years of age *.

The sovereignty of these islands being soon again ceded to the crown of Denmark, no events occurred for a series of years, either in the internal course, or the external affairs of the mission, remarkably distinguishing its history from that of preceding periods. Our missionaries continued their labours with their usual activity, and had many proofs that the doctrine of "Christ crucified is the power and wisdom of God unto salvation to every true believer, whether bond or free."

During this period they were enabled to realize a wish, they had long entertained, of forming a third settlement on the island of St. Croix. This settlement, which was called FRIEDENSFELD, from its central situation proved a great convenience to many old and infirm Negroes, who

* Per. Acc. Vol. iii. p. 181—189.

were frequently deprived of the means of grace in consequence of the distance of the other stations*.

One of the native assistants in St. Croix, a man ninety-eight years of age, about this time finished his earthly career, rejoicing in hope of the glory hereafter to be revealed. A brief sketch of his life inserted in the Periodical Accounts†, contains the following notices: "He lived in ignorance and the practice of heathen abominations till in his fortieth year. He was awakened by the grace of God through the testimony of our brethren, and was one of the first four Negroes, who were baptized in St. Croix in the year 1744, by the late missionary Frederick Martin, who called him Nathaniel. In reference to his awakening he often used to remark: 'When I heard the *great word* spoken by the brethren, that God our Saviour so loved men, that he became a man to die for them, that they might not suffer eternal death, it was as if an arrow went through my heart. I followed the missionaries from place to place to hear more of this great word. And when no brethren were with us, we Negroes, who were of one mind, met together, and though we knew not much, yet we conversed of that God, who loved even the Negroes, and were frequently so overcome with gratitude that we all wept, and felt an ardent desire to know the Lord and experience his grace.'

"After the decease of brother Martin, when St. Croix was left a whole year without a missionary, Nathaniel and some other assistants were the instruments employed by the Lord for carrying on the divine work, which had commenced in this island. Even in the last years of his life, he spoke with peculiar delight of the beginning of the mission, and could scarce find words to describe the grace of God, which then prevailed among the christian Negroes. 'At that time,' he would say, 'the believing Negroes had to suffer much oppression and persecution. In order not to be ill treated by the white people, we never took the straight road, when we went to hear the gospel, but a circuitous route through the woods: but the more trou-

* Per. Acc. Vol. iv. p. 44.

† Vol. v. p. 107.

blesome it was to get to our place of meeting, the happier we were when we met, for the peace of God was peculiarly felt among us, and we often conversed together till late at night about the concerns of our souls.'"

In 1811 the missionary J. G. Haensel returned to St. Thomas from a visit he had made in Europe. One of the first services he performed for the dissemination of gospel knowledge, and which gave him peculiar delight, was to distribute a number of testaments in the Spanish language to those of that nation, who frequently visit St. Thomas from Porto Rico. Concerning this distribution he remarks: "As the worthy British and Foreign Bible Society had been pleased to place that trust in me, I felt happy in having so early an opportunity of fulfilling their kind intentions. I had much enjoyment in performing this act of benevolence. The gloomy countenances of the Spaniards, which in general seem to indicate rather a sullen disposition, brightened with an expression of gratitude, of which their tears gave further evidence, and they declared their regard and love for their benefactors in the warmest terms *."

The following year a breach was made in the missionary family at FRIEDENSFELD on St. Croix, the Lord permitting his faithful servant, brother Netz, to enter into rest, after having laboured in this part of his vineyard for nineteen years. His brethren speak of him as peculiarly gifted for missionary labours. His discourses were admirably adapted to the capacities of the Negroes, and instances were not wanting, which sufficiently proved, that the Lord laid a special blessing upon his testimony, which was singularly calculated to awaken sinners, and magnify salvation by grace through faith in Jesus †.

Our missionaries had often been excited to adore the riches of divine grace, exemplified in the salvation of the most ignorant slaves of sin. A very striking instance of this kind they were favoured to witness in the year 1815, in the case of a Negro criminal who was executed in St.

* Per. Acc. Vol. v. p. 153.

† Ibid. 394.

Croix for the murder of a child *, and whose execution was fixed for the 14th of June. Two days previous to this, the Byvoight (town-clerk) requested the missionaries to visit and prepare the criminal for death.

Brother Lehman immediately repaired to the prison and had an interview with the criminal, whose name was Lancaster. He found him one of the most ignorant and stupid Negroes he had ever seen. He had not even an idea of God, much less of salvation by Jesus. He showed no remorse of conscience, seemed perfectly indifferent about his soul, and evaded every charge of criminality, by alleging that he was intoxicated when committing the murder.

This state of insensibility on the part of the culprit deeply distressed brother Lehman, the more so, as the shortness of the time previous to his execution, appeared to render it a hopeless, and almost impossible case to be of any real service to him. On representing to the byvoight these unfavourable circumstances, he procured an order from the governor-general, by which the execution was deferred, in order to afford more frequent opportunities for instructing the criminal. The missionaries now resolved, that one of them should visit him every forenoon, and two of the assistants every afternoon.

During the second visit Lancaster appeared pensive and rather uneasy; still he could not be convinced that his inebriety, when perpetrating the horrid deed, did not render him excusable; much less could he be made sensible, that he was by nature a corrupt creature, and must be eternally lost, unless Jesus Christ had mercy upon him, and delivered him from the power and curse of sin. This visit, however, seemed to pave the way for that grateful and astonishing change, which was afterwards wrought upon him by divine power.

At the next visit brother Lehman spoke to him in a

* A girl about twelve years of age, whom he had cut and mangled in the most shocking manner.

very close and serious manner, telling him, that he was a slave of sin and of the devil, that by his works, he had not only well deserved the punishment, which the offended laws of God and man would shortly execute upon him, by depriving him of his natural life; but that his sins against Almighty God were so heinous and atrocious, that after this life he must be doomed to eternal misery, if he died in his present state. But, that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, had come into the world, and become man, that by his innocent sufferings and death, he might take upon himself the punishment, which the sins of the most guilty had deserved, thereby to reconcile us to God. During the prayer all present were deeply affected and shed many tears; and even poor Lancaster, began to weep bitterly.

On the 16th being asked how he had slept, he replied, he had got but little sleep, adding, "I am a miserable sinner; I have acted wickedly: I have done a great deal of evil, and now I must soon die! O what is to become of me!" The comforts of the gospel were then set before him, and he was directed to Jesus, who came to save sinners, even the chief, and will receive all who accept of his mercy as a free and undeserved gift.

At a subsequent interview the missionary observed such a change in the criminal, as encouraged the hope, that he would be plucked like a brand from everlasting fire. Being asked, whether he was now willing, cheerfully to leave this world and appear before the throne of God? He replied: "Yes! I am indeed frequently terrified at the thought of death, when I reflect how much evil I have done, but I immediately turn in prayer to our Saviour, and then all my desponding thoughts vanish; therefore I will pray continually to him who died for me. He will not suffer me to be lost."

A portion of the New Testament was daily read to him, especially the history of our Saviour's sufferings. This proved a rich comfort to him and wonderfully enlarged his ideas on divine subjects.

The missionaries, having consulted together on the

propriety of granting his repeated application for baptism, came to the resolution, that as it was evident the Lord had heard their prayers, and opened his heart to understand and receive the gospel, they might now administer this holy ordinance to him, conformably to the command of God our Saviour. When the poor penitent was informed of this, he expressed his joy in the liveliest manner, and said: "Though I am such a bad man, yet I perceive that my Saviour will not reject me, but show mercy even unto me. Thanks be to him to all eternity."

Of this solemn transaction and the closing scene, the missionaries give the following account.

"On the 21st in the afternoon, brother Lehman went to the prison. Many were already assembled, some belonging to the prison, both whites and blacks, and others who had obtained permission to be present at the solemn transaction, people from town, and many of our Negroe-congregation. Lancaster's irons had been taken off, and he was sitting on a stool, perfectly clean, and dressed in white. After the singing of an hymn, brother Lehman spoke on the eleventh verse of 33d chapter of Ezekiel; "*As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked;*" combined with the words of our Saviour, Matthew xi. 28. *Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.*" During the discourse, great silence and devout attention prevailed in the whole assembly, and when, at the conclusion, the subject was treated of in application to the state of the criminal, silent tears flowed plentifully down his cheeks. He answered the questions put to him, according to the ritual of the Brethren's church*, with humility and dis-

* The questions here referred to, are the following :

Q. Dost thou believe that thou art a sinful creature, and hast by thy sins deserved the wrath of God, and eternal punishment ?

A. I do believe it.

Q. Dost thou believe, that Jesus Christ became man for us, and by his innocent life, blood-shedding, and death, reconciled us poor sinful creatures to God ?

A. I verily believe it.

Q. Dost thou believe that He purchased for thee, by his blood and death, remission of sins, life, and happiness eternal ?

tinctness, after which a fervent prayer was offered up, that the Lord would pardon and absolve this penitent sinner; give him an assurance of the remission of his sins by the blood of atonement, and cleanse him from unrighteousness in that precious fountain. Brother Lehman then baptized him in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and called him Thomas. The conclusion of the service was made by singing a hymn.

“Brother Lehman had now a most difficult and distressing task to perform, being commissioned to inform poor Lancaster, that the next morning he should suffer the punishment due to his crime. When informed of this, he said: “I am ready; for my Lord Jesus Christ has forgiven me all my sins. My sins are no more there to condemn me; He has taken them away; He will not suffer me to be lost, but receive me in mercy.” He pronounced these words with such an humble voice and cheerful countenance, that all who heard him were filled with astonishment. At taking leave he earnestly besought the missionaries not to forsake him, but return to him in the morning.

“Early on the 22d, the missionary repaired to the prison, to comfort poor Thomas in his last moments, and accompany him to the place of execution. The officer on duty met him at the door, and declared, that he had never in his life been witness to such a scene; that the poor criminal had spent the whole night in prayer; and exhorted other criminals, who were confined for similar offences, to repent, and confess the whole truth, as God knew their hearts, and all their evil deeds, and to cry to Him for mercy.

A. I verily believe it.

Q. Wilt thou in this faith be baptized into the death of Jesus and be washed in His blood?

A. This is my sincere desire.

Q. Dost thou also desire to be delivered from the power of sin and Satan, and to be received into the fellowship of Jesus Christ, and of those who believe in him?

A. This is my sincere desire, and I renounce the devil and all his works and ways.

"As soon as brother Lehman entered the room Thomas, who was already brought thither, came up to him, and expressed his thanks for the favour conferred upon him on the preceding day, adding, that he had not slept at all during the night. Being asked the cause of this, he replied: 'This is my dying day, and I shall soon see my Saviour face to face. He waits to receive me.' After some conversation and prayer, they were informed that the military were drawn up and in readiness; upon which brother Lehman and Thomas left the prison, and entered a circle formed by the soldiers. The delinquent was without fetters, and dressed in white. The procession now moved forward through the whole length of the town, the streets being crowded with people, and the windows and roofs filled with spectators. During their whole walk, the missionary spoke comfortably to the sufferer, and exhorted him to look steadfastly to Jesus his Redeemer, who went for him to the cross, and would not forsake him in his last extremity. Thomas was still, and silently repeated every word. When they had got out of the town, and could see the place of execution at some distance, he seemed to shudder, and stopped for a moment; but on being encouraged not to lose his confidence, but to keep the eyes of his faith fixed on his Saviour, who went willingly to death for him, he said, with trembling lips, 'O Lord Jesus! I will likewise come! O strengthen thou me!'

"Having arrived at the gallows, and the master of the police having again read to him the sentence of the law, he mounted the cart. When his hands and feet were tied, brother Lehman addressed him: 'Thomas, for whom was Jesus bound?' He answered, 'For me.' 'For whom was Jesus crucified?' He replied, 'For me; for my sins.' This he did with such distinctness, that it excited great astonishment. His last words were, 'Lord Jesus! be merciful unto me!' Brother Lehman added, 'Remember Jesus Christ, who died and rose again for you!' During these words, he was launched into eternity.

"The great resignation with which Thomas went to execution, exceedingly surprised many both whites and

Negroes, who had formerly been acquainted with him. One of the clerks of the court called afterwards upon us, and could not sufficiently express his wonder at the change wrought in the deportment of this Negroe. He related, that when he was brought into court, he behaved in the most audacious and brutal manner, and his conversation was the most scandalous and wicked ever heard. He added: 'But how did he afterwards pray to God for mercy; and how patiently, like a sheep to the slaughter, did he go to his death! Many, besides myself, never expected, that that would be the case with him! O how great is the benefit derived from the christian religion *!'

The voyage of a company of missionaries, in 1813 and 1814, was attended with peculiar hardships and dangers. They were partly destined for the mission in Greenland, and partly for that in the Danish West India islands, and all sailed from Copenhagen, in March 1813, on board the *Hualfsken*, bound for Leith in Scotland. In the channel between Scotland and Norway they were discovered by captain Cathcart of the *Alexandria* frigate, who sent an officer on board demanding the ship's papers, and ordering the Danish captain to attend on board the frigate. To the no small consternation of himself and the passengers, the licence was declared to have expired †, and all the crew were put on board the frigate, and an English lieutenant, a midshipman and twelve sailors took possession of the Danish vessel. The captain, however, was suffered to remain, an explanation having been given that the ship was certainly bound for Leith. The ship was ordered to Gothenburg, but unfavourable weather rendered all their attempts to reach that harbour ineffectual; and after encountering several perils, they were obliged to cast anchor at Marstrand, where they were detained till the 10th of April.

Their situation was rendered peculiarly distressing, as they could not even send a letter to the Brethren's minis-

* Per. Acct. Vol. v. p. 419—426.

† The missionaries could not account for this, as the licence was dated August 1812, to remain valid till October 1813. Per. Acct. Vol. v. p. 370.

ter at Gothenburg, or to any of their friends; all intercourse with the land being strictly forbidden. In other respects their detention on board was rendered as comfortable as possible. Brother Ramsch (one of the missionaries going to the West Indies) remarks, "We should not do justice, if we did not bear testimony to the kind and generous conduct of all the English officers we had to do with; I might quote a variety of instances, in which they showed every readiness, to make our situation as little irksome as possible *.

While lying off Marstrand some of them were ordered to Gothenburg to undergo an examination. They were treated with much kindness, and only such questions put to them, as tended to prove the truth of the captain's report.

This unexpected occurrence so protracted the voyage to Leith, that the missionaries, destined for the West Indies, could not sail with the spring convoy. They therefore spent the summer in the Brethren's settlement at Fulneck in Yorkshire.

In November 1813 they set sail from Portsmouth; their company consisting of the brethren Ramsch and Schaerf with their wives and two other sisters. On this voyage likewise they were exposed to imminent danger. January the 10th 1814, they were chased by an American privateer. Captain Lennon informed them, that he considered it his duty to defend himself, and immediately prepared for action; assigning a place of safety for them in the hold. A fierce engagement now commenced. The English ship mounted only six guns, with twenty-two men and boys; the American had fourteen guns and one hundred and twenty-five men. Thrice he attempted to board; but met with such steady and determined resistance from Captain Lennon, that, after a contest of more than four hours, he was obliged to sheer off with considerable damage, and the loss of several killed and wounded. The English ship had

* It is of importance to mention this circumstance, a report having been circulated to the contrary effect by the Danish sailors. Per. Acct. Vol. v. p. 300.

one killed and eleven wounded; the captain had his hat shot through and received several contusions.

The terror of the missionaries, during the fight, may more easily be conceived than described. Their gratitude and joy were so much the greater, when they not only found themselves graciously delivered from the threatening danger, but saw themselves, before the close of another day, in the midst of their brethren and sisters at St. Croix *.

A month had scarce elapsed after the arrival of this company, when brother J. G. Haensel of St. Thomas entered into rest. He was sixty-four years of age; and it may be truly said of him, that he had grown grey and exhausted his strength in his endeavours to bring the heathen to the fold of the good Shepherd. He had served the missionary cause in Tranquebar and Nicobar, in the East Indies, for eighteen years, and after a short rest in Germany, the same number of years in the West Indies; so that thirty-six years of his valuable life had been devoted to this glorious work †.

After the departure of this faithful servant of God, the missionaries continued to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ to the Negroes in St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan, and to teach their converts to observe all things whatsoever Jesus hath commanded. And the Lord blessed their labours for the conversion of the Negroes, many of whom were in subsequent years added to the church by baptism.

While thus zealously attending on their ministry among the Negroes, their divine Master was pleased to exercise their faith by a severe trial. Towards the end of the summer of 1817, a contagious fever prevailed in these islands, which was peculiarly fatal to Europeans, carrying off great

* Per. Acct. Vol. v. p. 466.

† Some idea of the difficulties and dangers, he had to encounter in the East Indies, till that mission was suspended, may be formed by reading his *Letters on the Nicobar Islands*, addressed to the Rev. C. J. Latrobe, and published in 1812.

great numbers, and likewise extending its ravages to the missionary settlements. Most of our brethren and sisters suffered from it; and in less than five weeks three brethren and two sisters, finished their earthly pilgrimage, and entered into the joy of their Lord.

This distressing intelligence was received by the last letters, which have arrived from the missionaries in these islands. The concluding remark of the directors of the missions in notifying this painful event, will very suitably form the closing paragraph of this section: "What shall we say? we bow with deep humility under the chastening hand of the Lord, that hand which 'wounds and which heals,' and we entreat him, that he would bless our brethren and sisters there with his divine comfort, and support them with his mighty power, that they may serve the great missionary work there with the needful grace, till we are enabled to send fresh labourers to supply the places of those, who are now resting in the presence of their Lord."

SECTION II.

Jamaica.

SEVERAL respectable gentlemen in London, who possessed considerable estates in Jamaica, had with much zeal and expense supported various measures for the instruction of their Negroes in christianity, but without any apparent success. Becoming in the sequel acquainted with the Brethren and their successful labours in St. Thomas, they requested them to send some missionaries to instruct their slaves, adding, that it would be particularly gratifying to them if the Rev. Zacharias George Caries, whose sermons they had themselves attended with acceptance and profit, should be found willing to engage in this service.

Brother Caries readily consented, and with two other brethren, sailed for Jamiaca in October 1754. On their

arrival every thing favoured their undertaking. The promoters of it generously cared for their external support, and erected a house on a piece of land, given by them for the use of the mission, and which was called CARMEL. They also encouraged the Negroes to attend the preaching of the gospel, allowing them the necessary time and liberty. They came in great numbers, and, at the end of the first year, the missionaries computed their regular hearers at about eight hundred, of whom twenty-six had been baptized. Besides preaching on the three estates belonging to the promoters of the mission, brother Caries was invited by several other gentlemen to instruct their Negroes also. He met with but little opposition from the white people, even those, who at first were rather hostile in their views, changed their sentiments almost as soon as they heard and conversed with him. Indeed they attended his sermons in such numbers (in many cases with evident blessing to themselves,) that he found it necessary to preach separately to them and the Negroes *.

In this prosperous state the mission continued for two or three years. There were two regular missionary stations, namely at CARMEL and EMMAUS, and preachings were kept on three other plantations, the *Bogue, Island*, and *Mesopotamia*. The number of catechumens amounted to four hundred, and that of the baptized to seventy-seven. More labourers being now required, some brethren arrived from Europe and North America in 1757 and 1759. But differing in opinion from their predecessors, and conceiving that the Negroes had been too hastily admitted to baptism, they treated them with greater strictness, and prolonged the time of probation of the catechumens. This discouraged the poor slaves; many of them withdrew and even absented themselves from the public preaching; the harmony of the missionaries was interrupted and their zeal in the cause paralyzed. In 1759 brother Caries returned to Europe with brother Nath. Seidel, who had been sent over on a visitation. But his endeavours to revive the sinking cause were but partially successful, and several years elapsed before the mission recovered the detriment it had sustained *.

* Brethren's History, Vol. i. p. 430.

† Ibid. p. 489.

Amidst these disheartening circumstances, it was an encouragement to our brethren to find, that none of the slaves belonging to the five plantations, where they had regularly preached the gospel, were implicated in the rebellion excited by the Negroes in 1760. On the contrary, they were often in danger of being surprised by the rebels, till the latter were driven to seek an asylum in the woods and mountains*.

In 1764, and the following years, the prospect again assumed a brighter appearance. Brother Frederic Schlegel, having arrived in order to undertake the general superintendence of the mission, was enabled, by divine grace, to restore harmony among the missionaries, and reanimate their drooping zeal. The effect was that those Negroes, who had been formerly baptized, returned, and the smothered embers of the divine life in their souls were rekindled, so that the missionaries could employ some of them as assistants in preaching to their countrymen. By degrees the number of their hearers was increased, and they found opportunities of declaring the gospel in some new places, and even of visiting the Negroes, who live in the mountains. In the year 1767 one hundred and thirty-one were admitted to holy baptism, and the following year very nearly the same number†.

After the decease of brother Schlegel, who entered into rest in 1770, the promising revival in this mission received a fresh check. The eagerness of the Negroes to hear the gospel subsided, and even some of the baptized relapsed into paganism. It ought to be mentioned, that the labours of our missionaries were, through necessity, almost wholly restricted to the slaves, belonging to a few plantations. In subsequent years, various difficulties, an oppressive scarcity of provisions, and fears of a hostile attack in 1778, tended still further to impede the progress of this mission‡.

Things remained in this languishing state for several

* Brethren's History, Vol. i. p. 545. † Ibid. p. 599. ‡ Ibid. Vol. ii. p. 104, and 275.

succeeding years. Even at the *Bogue*, which still presented the greatest field for usefulness, the auditory seldom consisted of more than sixty people, and never amounted to a hundred. Consequently the annual addition to the church, by new converts from the heathen, was very small. Nothing could have encouraged the missionaries to remain at their post, but the consideration, that in the sight of God *one* human soul is of infinite value *.

The insalubrity of the climate exposed our brethren to frequent indispositions, and often rendered a change of missionaries necessary. Thus brother Sam. Church, who, since 1787 had superintended the affairs of this mission, with great faithfulness, found himself necessitated to return with his wife to England in 1792.

Brother Nath. Brown and his wife, on their voyage from Philadelphia to Jamaica 1797, were captured by a French privateer off Cape Nicola Mole in St. Domingo, and carried to fort Jean Rabel. They were kept prisoners for a fortnight, but treated with great civility, and, after due examination, set at liberty and suffered to proceed. An American merchant procured them a passport from the governor, and on the 7th of August they sailed with an American brig, which was engaged as a flag of truce, and in a few hours reached the Mole. Proceeding under convoy with several vessels, they arrived at Kingston, in Jamaica, on the 4th of September. During their stay in this town they experienced much kindness from the Methodists, especially from the Rev. Mr. Fish.

The slow progress of this mission was still further impeded, about this time, by the rebellion of the Maroons †, and the consequent introduction of martial law. Thus tranquillity was disturbed, all business was at a stand, and every person obliged to bear arms. From the last, however, our missionaries were exempted; and their places of abode were at a considerable distance from the theatre

* Brethren's History, Vol. iii. p. 363.

† Slaves who have eloped from their masters, and live in the mountains, where they occupy several villages.

of these disturbances. They were likewise preserved from those depredations and murders, which were committed by the run-away Negroes in 1798. And, what more particularly excited their gratitude, was that they observed a greater attention to the gospel in many of the slaves*.

About this time some gentlemen in London, who had considerable possessions in this island, applied to the Brethren for one or more missionaries, to be sent out for the special purpose of instructing the Negroes, belonging to their plantations, taking upon themselves the entire maintenance of these missionaries, so as not to trench upon the general fund, the resources of which were barely sufficient to meet the exigencies of the more promising fields, hitherto cultivated by the Brethren. In order to meet the wishes of these gentlemen, the brethren Joseph Jackson, (who was born in this island, his father having formerly laboured in this mission) and Thos. Ellis, and their wives, went to Jamaica in the spring of 1800. On their arrival they found most of the resident missionaries ailing. Brother Howel and his wife were gone to North America for the recovery of their health, and brother Brown, after the decease of his wife, had returned to Pennsylvania. The service of the new missionaries, therefore, were immediately needed in the old settlements; and in this they acquiesced the more readily as the requisite arrangements, for their accommodation, had not yet been made in those places, for which they were properly destined†.

In subsequent years appearances became rather more hopeful, and the attendance of the Negroes, especially at UNION and ELIM (two new places) was encouraging. Noticing the celebration of the anniversary of this mission in 1804, it being fifty years since its commencement, our brethren remark: "Though we cannot exult over a very abundant harvest of souls, which these fifty years have produced, or even over present prospects, yet we find sufficient cause of gratitude to the Lord, for having preserved a seed in Jamaica also, which in his own good time may grow up into a rich harvest. It appears from the

* Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 611—616. † Ibid. p. 617—619.

church-register, that from the commencement of this mission to the present date nine hundred and thirty-eight Negroes have been baptized *."

A few years after the mission sustained a very serious loss by the departure of brother Joseph Jackson, who fell asleep in Jesus on Dec. 9th 1808, in the fortieth year of his age. The loss of such a man was the more to be deplored, as his natural and acquired endowments (having studied at the Brethren's college in Saxony) joined to great urbanity of manners, and fervent zeal in the Lord's service, qualified him for more extensive usefulness in the church of the Brethren †.

The time for which our brethren had long waited, and fervently prayed, seemed now to have arrived, when the gospel would run and be glorified in Jamaica also. A greater desire was evidently excited among the Negroes to become savingly acquainted with the truths of christianity. They attended the preaching in greater numbers, and evinced more earnestness in seeking to attain a right understanding of what they heard. For the attainment of this end, our missionaries found a regulation, which they made in 1812, very useful, in meeting their people in classes, especially the catechumens. Concerning this they remark: "It is pleasing to see the eagerness, with which the Negroes come to this meeting. We are chiefly occupied with asking questions, and explaining texts of scripture. They are all anxious that they may not come behind in proper answers, and therefore never stay away but from urgent necessity. We find that this mode of instruction makes a more lasting impression upon their minds, than a regular discourse ‡.

Among the new people, who about this time sought for instruction in christian doctrine, was a Mahomedan, who had come twelve miles to visit the missionary. He introduced himself by saying: "Massa, I would have you know that I want to come to you to be baptized. I am a Mahomedan, and in my country we also believe in Moses.

* *Per. Acct.* Vol. iii. p. 441. † *Ibid.* Vol. iv. p. 373. ‡ *Ibid.* Vol. v. p. 329.

But I think my faith is now old and not the right one; I wish to come to Jesus Christ, I have one wife, and she is of the same mind. We have prayers together; and always pray to Jesus Christ. Did we not live so far off, we should have come before now and begged you to baptize us *."

October 4th 1812 a violent hurricane, followed in a few days by a smart shock of an earthquake, which continued half a minute, did very considerable damage in the island, and plunged the Negroes into very great distress, as all their provision-grounds were destroyed. Brother Lang, in a letter dated CARMEL, March 15th 1813†, writes: "Whenever we visit them in their huts they cry out: 'Massa, hunger kill we;' and indeed they look so lean and emaciated, that we cannot behold them without pity. It will be two months before the plantain and Indian corn become fit for use. Were it not for our coffee planters who, when coffee fell so much in price, planted plenty of a certain fruit, growing in the ground, which the storm cannot carry away, the poor people would absolutely be in danger of starving."

In June 1815 brother Ward and his wife arrived from England, having been appointed for the service of this mission. Soon after their arrival they took the charge of the instruction of the Negroes on *Island* and *Windsor* estates, and fixed on WILLIAMSFIELD, as the most convenient place for their residence. On *Island* there were some baptized Negroes, the gospel having been occasionally preached there for many years, but those belonging to *Windsor* were ignorant heathen. The difference between them was striking, and appeared even in their manners and customs. The missionary soon found that his labour in these places was attended with the divine blessing. His auditories were, in general, large and very attentive, and many desired more special instruction, that they might be prepared for receiving holy baptism ‡.

The endeavours of our brethren at CARMEL were equally

* Per. Acc. Vol. v. p. 436. † Ibid. p. 436, ‡ Ibid. Vol. iv. p. 327.

successful. Brother Lang writes: "The number of our hearers is on the increase, and the preaching of the gospel evinces its power on the hearts of the Negroes, which also appears in their moral conduct. Some walk in true fellowship with our Saviour, and have received the assurance of the forgiveness of their sins; others are mourning on account of sin, and seeking salvation in Jesus. Of the latter class there are about two hundred. Last sabbath a Negroe from an estate, about fifteen miles from CARMEL, brought me a stick, marked with seven notches, each notch denoting ten Negroes, informing me that there were so many Negroes on that estate engaged in praying to the Lord. About twenty of them attend divine worship at *Peru*: they are all unbaptized, but desirous of receiving holy baptism. The awakening spreads more and more, and we entertain hopes that our Saviour will now gather a rich harvest in Jamaica *."

Of the new stations *Elim* and *Peru* were the most flourishing. The attorneys and overseers on these estates, no less than the proprietors in England, promoted the endeavours of our missionaries by every means in their power. This indeed was now the case on all the plantations.

In the spring of 1816, however, some gentlemen endeavoured to obstruct the work, and for a short time intimidated the Negroes, so that the preachings were less numerous attended. Complaints were even lodged against the missionaries before the governor, but being unsupported by evidence, he was too just to condemn them without proof. And as an application on their part to be heard in their defence was not attended to, they determined to be quiet and commit their cause to God. In a little while the storm subsided and they could undisturbedly continue their labours †.

Thus it appears that the Brethren's missionaries occupy four settlements or stations in this island, viz. *BOGUE* ‡,

* *Per. Aect.* Vol. iv. p. 411. † *Ibid.* Vol. vi. p. 367.

‡ It seems, that they removed from this station in 1816, having, erected a new mission-house at a little distance, and called it *ENRY*. *Ibid.* p. 369.

MESOPOTAMIA, CARMEL, and WILLIAMS-FIELD, and have besides regular preaching-places on several plantations, the principal of which are, *Elim, Peru, Union, Two-mile-wood, Island, and Windsor.*

SECTION III.

Antigua.

THE missionaries, residing in *St. Thomas*, had long directed their attention to those islands in the West Indies, which belonged to the crown of England, hoping to find means of preaching the gospel also in them. The paucity of their number, however, and the frequent deaths, which occurred among them, rendered this benevolent design abortive for a considerable time. At length, in 1756, brother Samuel Isles, who had spent eight years in *St. Thomas*, went to ANTIGUA. On his arrival he waited on the governor, and shewed him the act which had passed in favour of the Brethren in 1749. Some gentlemen patronised him, giving him permission to preach on their plantations. The following year he had the pleasure of performing the first baptismal transaction in this island on a Negroe woman. In the sequel, proposals were made to him of building a place of worship for the Negroes. This was effected in 1761, on a piece of ground, in the town of *St. John's*, bought for the purpose of forming a missionary establishment.

For several years the progress of the work was rather slow. Brother Isles, and his two assistants John Bennet and Wm. Lister, continued to preach the gospel wherever a door was opened. On the one hand they met with no remarkable opposition; and on the other they saw no very striking effects attend their labours. Samuel Isles finished his race in 1764, having spent eight years in the service of this mission, during which period only thirty-six Negroes had been baptized. His successors did not relax in their endeavours, but sowed the seed of the gospel, in hopes of a fruitful harvest at some future period, for as

yet the prospect was very discouraging, their congregation in **ST. JOHN'S** having been reduced to fourteen members, and few of the heathen shewing any inclination to attend the church *.

This was the unpromising state of things, when brother **Brown** arrived there from North America in May 1769. It pleased the Sovereign Lord of his vineyard to crown the zealous exertions of this missionary with signal success. Imbibing a measure of the spirit of his divine Master, **Brown** was not content with addressing the Negroes in public, but followed them into their huts, and in private conversation earnestly and affectionately entreated them to attend to the things belonging to their peace. Besides performing the regular services in the town, he preached on two plantations in the country. The auditories increased; many heathen were converted, and in less than two years the baptized amounted to upwards of eighty. These invited their friends and acquaintances to go with them to church, and many, who came at first from mere curiosity, were by degrees so powerfully awakened, that they never absented themselves but in case of the most urgent necessity.

This increase of their congregation rendered the enlargement of the chapel necessary. On this occasion the christian Negroes, in a very pleasing manner, evidenced the influence of the gospel on their minds. When they came to the meetings, on week-day evenings, each brought a few stones or other materials with him. A baptized Negro, who was a mason, with the help of a few others, did all the masonry, and others did the carpenter's work, and completed the whole building in their free hours, after their daily tasks were done. And those, who could not assist in the labour, provided victuals for the workmen.

Difficulties and trials were not wanting. The brethren, who had hitherto assisted brother **Brown**, were obliged to leave the island on account of ill health, and brother **Ben. Brookshaw**, who arrived there in 1771, and whose quali-

* Brethren's History, Vol. i. p. 485, 545, 601, and Vol. ii. p. 105.

fications for the work were of the most promising kind, was called home by the Lord the following March; and as sister Brown likewise departed this life, her husband was for several months left quite alone.

In 1772 they suffered from a calamity of a more public nature. The island was visited by a violent hurricane, which did great damage, threw down one of the houses on the mission-settlement and considerably injured the rest. By the mercy of God the chapel, in which the missionaries and many Negroes had taken refuge, remained standing.

This calamity, however, appeared to make a salutary impression on the Negroes, teaching them the importance of knowing that Lord who is "a hiding place from the wind and a covert from the tempest." A new awakening arose among the slaves, which, like a fire from the Lord, spread in every direction. The auditories of our brethren increased every year; so that in 1775 the number of their stated hearers amounted to two thousand; and never a month elapsed without an addition to the church of ten or twenty by baptism.

The missionaries therefore found it necessary, not only to erect a new and more spacious place of worship in ST. JOHN'S, but also to endeavour to obtain a second establishment, in some other part of the island, in order, more especially, to accommodate those Negroes, who lived at a distance from the town. The building of the new chapel was completed in 1773, and the following year they purchased a piece of ground called BAILEY-HILL, at no great distance from the town of Falmouth, and in the neighbourhood of several plantations, on which many of their converts resided*.

In 1778 a severe famine prevailed, which plunged the Negroes into the greatest distress; many were found lying quite exhausted in the fields, and not a few perished with hunger. Some managers, were so cruel, that they gave

* Brethren's History, Vol. ii. p. 105—112.

to the cattle the food, which the proprietors had ordered for their slaves. Contagious diseases followed, and thefts and robberies became frequent, whereby many industrious Negroes lost all their little property. Under these heavy circumstances the power of divine grace was strikingly exhibited in the conduct of the christian Negroes. They not only refrained from all unlawful means of helping themselves, but bore their sufferings with exemplary patience; never resenting the injuries done them, nor taking revenge on those, who robbed them. One of them, when returning from his work in the evening, and finding that thieves had been in his house, said, with a very placid mien: "Well, they have not been able to rob me of my greatest treasure, the grace of my Saviour. They are more to be pitied than I am *."

The situation of BAILEY-HILL having been found very inconvenient, on account of the great acclivity of the hill, our brethren were glad to meet with a more convenient place, at no great distance. Thither they removed in 1782, and called it GRACEHILL. Their congregations here and in St. JOHN'S now amounted to two thousand and sixty-nine baptized Negroes, and with the catechumens and regular hearers nearly to double that number.

The external circumstances of the mission continued rather difficult. Hard labour, sickness, famine and depredations were trials, which the christian Negroes shared in common with others. Frequent apprehensions of a hostile attack †, and the necessary preparations of defence had an injurious influence. The baptized Negroes were exposed to persecution and oppressive treatment, both from their heathen fellow-slaves and from some of the managers. A Negroe, who accompanied his master on a voyage, was captured by the French and carried to Guadeloupe, where he suffered severe imprisonment. His christian behaviour drew the attention of the jailor; who, on learning that the prisoner was baptized, gave him more liberty, and even promoted his return to Antigua ‡.

* Brethren's History, Vol. ii. p. 272.

† The island was taken by the French in 1782, but restored to Britain in 1783.

‡ Brethren's History, Vol. ii. p. 281—283.

One of the greatest trials to our missionaries was the occasional removal of some of their converts to other islands, where they had no opportunity of hearing the gospel. In such cases, however, they had frequently the pleasure to hear that the christian Negroes kept together, and, by prayer and mutual edification, encouraged each other to remain faithful to their baptismal engagements. By these means they often proved a blessing to their unconverted countrymen, and it occurred more than once that some of the latter, when transported to Antigua, immediately sought fellowship with our brethren.

After the restoration of peace in 1783, the Negroes evinced a growing desire to hear the gospel. Baptismal transactions were frequent and numerous. In St. JOHN's sixty adults were in one day embodied in the church by this sacred rite; and that congregation received, in one year, an accession of upwards of four hundred new members, and the congregation at GRACEHILL was, within the same period, increased by more than three hundred persons. The number of apostates was comparatively very small.

These very large additions rendered it necessary to celebrate the Lord's Supper in two divisions at St. JOHN's. For as yet our brethren had been unsuccessful in their endeavours to obtain a piece of ground, in a convenient situation, to form a third settlement. To obviate, in some degree, the difficulty experienced by many of the Negroes, who lived at a considerable distance, in attending the regular service in the settlements, our missionaries preached at stated times on several adjacent plantations. This measure was in general approved by the proprietors and managers. In one place a Negroe, one of the native assistants, built a chapel at his own expense, sufficiently large to accommodate four hundred hearers.

Most proprietors and managers were favourably disposed, and acknowledged the beneficial effects, resulting from the labours of the missionaries. The elevation of the moral character of the slaves, redounded to the advantage of their masters, and that in a manner too obvious to be altogether overlooked. The example of the

christian Negroes was productive of good, even in such as did not attend the preaching. They became ashamed of criminal excesses, and even exhorted each other to refrain from them. If any of the baptized Negroes had been guilty of a fault, the reproof of their teachers had far more effect than any corporal chastisement. This was well known to some of the managers, who, therefore, instead of resorting to the whip, sent the offender to the missionaries. One gentleman observed; "he wished all his slaves might be truly converted, for this would render them far more honest and punctual in their work, than any punishment he could inflict."

Yet persons were not wanting, who treated the mission with disrespect, and even opposed and impeded the labour of our brethren, wherever they could. On these occasions the poor slaves were the greatest sufferers. Once a party of white people most cruelly maltreated a Negroe for no other alleged reason, than because he attended the preaching; and afterwards even forced him to give his wife fifty lashes, because she had lodged a complaint with a justice. Some proprietors and managers positively prohibited their slaves to go to church; and, in case of disobedience, inflicted severe punishment on them, and put them into the stocks. A certain gentleman used to beat his servant whenever he met her. Venturing once to ask him why he did it, his only answer was: "because you persist in going to the meetings." The slave replied: "If this is the reason, then may God bless you, sir; our Saviour hath endured far heavier sufferings for my sins than you can inflict on me." An aged Negroe woman was put in irons and most unmercifully flogged, under pretence that one of her family had been guilty of committing a theft; but the true cause was enmity to the gospel. Unable to walk, she was the next day chained to two Negroes and dragged to the field; but expired by the way. The manager on a certain plantation, had for ten years, taken all possible pains to seduce the slaves to sin, and not succeeding, he was so enraged, that he one day cruelly flogged a Negroe-brother, because his wife would not yield to his iniquitous solicitations.

Notwithstanding these oppressions and many similar

hardships, the work of the Lord prospered in an astonishing degree. The congregation at GRACEHILL increased so rapidly, that it became necessary to adopt the same measure here as in St. JOHN's with regard to the administration of the Lord's Supper. In 1788 the two congregations consisted of more than six thousand members. Many new doors for preaching the gospel were opened to our missionaries, who could never have done the work, had they not found useful assistants among their converts. On several occasions, when repairs of the houses and chapels became needful, the Negroes manifested their willingness and liberality in the most gratifying manner. The building of the chapel in GRACEHILL was nearly altogether the voluntary work of the Negroes, and they even raised among themselves two thirds of the sum, which was required for covering the actual expenses*.

In 1790 the mission sustained a very heavy loss by the removal of brother Brown. This missionary, who for twenty-two years had laboured with indefatigable zeal in this part of the Lord's vineyard, and been instrumental in the conversion of many hundred Negroes, began to feel a declension, not only of his bodily health, but also of his mental faculties. His wife likewise, besides general debility, had entirely lost her sight, and thus was incapacitated from attending to the female Negroes, and from rendering any other assistance to the mission. They, therefore, retired to Bethlehem in North America. Brother Samuel Watson succeeded Brown in the superintendence of the mission; but was removed to a better world in 1792 in his 47th year; having, with exemplary faithfulness, served the cause of God in this island upwards of sixteen years. More than two thousand Europeans and Negroes joined the solemnities of his funeral, as the last proof they could give, of the esteem which all ranks attached to his memory. His place was supplied by brother Henry Christian Tschirpe, hitherto minister of the Brethren's congregation in Berlin.

In the night between the 18th and 19th of August 1795,

* Brethren's History, Vol. iii. p. 273—287.

a violent hurricane, accompanied with tremendous thunder and a severe shock of an earthquake, raged and did very considerable damage in the island. The fences and office-houses in the two missionary settlements were totally destroyed, and the houses much injured; but our brethren gratefully acknowledged the goodness of God in protecting them from all personal hurt.

The following year, they succeeded in accomplishing the long projected measure of forming a third settlement. They made a purchase of a small piece of ground in Old Road Town, lying near the coast, and at an equal distance from the two other settlements, namely, thirteen miles from each. An old house, standing upon it, after some repairs, served them both for a dwelling-house and a meeting-room, till a regular chapel could be built. This place received the name of GRACEBAY, and brother J. F. Reichel and his wife removed thither early in 1797. This establishment proved a great convenience to many Negroes, especially the aged and infirm. A congregation was immediately collected, consisting of six hundred christian Negroes, who had formerly belonged to ST. JOHN'S or GRACEHILL, but whose places of abode lay much nearer to the new settlement. Many who had never been at church before, now began to attend the preaching of the gospel at this station*, were solidly awakened by the Spirit of God, and joined the fellowship of the believers†.

Many instances continued to occur, evidencing the benign influence of the gospel on the sentiments and conduct of the christian Negroes, and of the increasing esteem, entertained for the Brethren's labours by most planters. The following, selected from a number of others, will serve to corroborate this assertion.

Richard, one of the native assistants, closed his earthly pilgrimage in his ninety-ninth year. Even in that advanced age he was very lively and active, and much re-

* Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 182. † Per. Acct. Vol. i. p. 405. and Vol. ii. p. 140.

spected by his proprietor. A rather singular circumstance paved the way for his conversion. He and another slave once endeavoured to promote a dance, in order to keep the Negroes from going to church. But this scheme was defeated, for they all declared "they preferred going to church." This irritated Richard and his comrade. They, however, resolved to go to the meeting to see and hear for themselves. Here the Lord opened both their hearts, so that they seriously attended to the things, which were spoken by the missionary.

Joseph, another Negroe, who died about this time, had been baptized in the church of England, but afterwards joined the Brethren. Having obtained his freedom, he engaged as valet to a gentleman. His master often entered into familiar conversation with him, and once addressed him thus: "Joseph, you are a fool to be always going to GRACEHILL, for you were baptized in the English church." The Negroe replied: "I *was* a fool when I gave the clergyman money to baptize me, though he never instructed me in the doctrine of salvation; this I have been taught in GRACEHILL. You, sir, are a great gentleman and a christian, and yet you never go to church; but I will tell you, I would not change with you, though I am but a poor Negroe. *Me* you cannot hinder from going to GRACEHILL; but I entreat you, sir, do not hinder your *slaves*."

The happy departure of another slave terminated his sufferings in this life. Being lame, and consequently useless, he had to endure extreme misery. His black brethren esteemed him highly on account of his faith and love to Jesus, and would gladly have helped him, but his unmerciful master would not permit it. He was found lying dead on a rock, and the Negroes were not allowed to make a coffin for him, even at their own expense.

Inhuman behaviour of this kind, however, became more and more rare; on the contrary the planters, in general, knew how to appreciate the worth of their christian slaves.

A gentleman having lost a Negroe of this description, requested the missionary to keep a funeral discourse for him, and said with tears in his eyes: "His equal for fidelity and every other virtue, is scarce to be found in the whole island; and if Almighty God does open the gates of heaven to *any* man, it will surely be to this old and venerable Negroe."

Another gentleman once declared "I esteem and love the Brethren, because they preach the gospel in its purity, and a truly apostolical manner. My regard for them is founded on the experience of thirty-six years. I well remember the time, when not only white people were afraid of the Negroes, but when even the latter could not trust each other, for murders were quite common. But, when the missionaries began to preach the gospel, it displayed its power, and changed the hearts of the slaves."

To the same effect another planter expressed himself, remarking, "Formerly we could hardly procure ropes enough on a Monday, for the purpose of punishing those slaves, who had committed crimes on Sunday; twenty, thirty, and even more were frequently hung; but since the gospel has been preached to them, scarcely two are hung in a whole year, and these for the most part are strange Negroes, who have not been long in the island *."

In process of time the missionaries observed, with grief, that the eagerness to hear and obey the gospel was rather declining among the Negroes; yet they still found abundant cause of acknowledging the goodness of God in making them the happy instruments of removing from the heart of many a poor slave the galling fetters of sin. And, though in their attendance on the means of grace, they did not always exhibit that earnestness, which their teachers so much desired; yet on sundays and festival seasons the auditories were crowded. Thus the congregation at St. JOHN'S, on Easter Monday 1804, consisted of nearly three thousand people; and during the preceding week they had kept meetings on thirty-four estates in

* Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 392—397.

the neighbourhood of that settlement, for contemplating the passion scenes of our Saviour, besides their regular evening services at the chapel *.

Towards the close of 1802, the island was visited by a very dangerous epidemic, which chiefly affected the white inhabitants, and carried off several hundred persons. At that time, however, death did not enter the dwellings of the missionaries. But a few months before they had lost one of their number, brother Luke Turner, who entered into the joy of his Lord on the 18th of January. His departure was the more afflictive to his fellow-labourers, as he was still in the prime of life, and had been only two years in the island. But in that short period he had given sufficient proofs of his zeal in the Lord's service, and by his modest and unassuming character gained the esteem and love of all who knew him. The physician, with tears in his eyes, bore testimony to this. Addressing one of the brethren he said: "For these many months, sir, we have not lost one white patient. However, your friend is best prepared for it, though he cannot speak. His very countenance shews the peace of his heart and the rest of his soul. He will be rewarded in heaven. Look at his christian composure, his end will be as his life, easy and mild. I pity you, that you should lose a man of such a character †."

The first months of the years 1805 were a period of much anxiety, as an invasion from the French was almost daily expected. The presence of their fleet in these seas kept the inhabitants constantly on the alert. The colony was under martial law, and all business at a stand. On March the 10th the town of St. JOHN'S was suddenly thrown into the utmost consternation, and people were flying in all directions, a report being circulated that the enemy had landed on Johnson's point, and were marching to the town. This fortunately proved a false alarm; and the island was preserved in peace.

In 1808 a trial of a more private nature, but truly dis-

* Per. Acct. Vol. iii. p. 282.

† Per. Acct. Vol. iii. p. 119.

gressing to the cause in which they were engaged, befel our missionaries. Nearly all of them suffered from severe illnesses, and that much about the same time, which rendered the duty of those, who remained tolerably well, doubly arduous, and, if the Lord had not made their strength equal to their day, the regular service of their numerous congregations must have been still more interrupted than it was. On this occasion brother J. C. Schnepf closed his useful life; and brother Sautter and his wife went to North America, for the recovery of his health. Through the mercy of God the change of air proved beneficial, and they returned to Antigua the following year.

It had long been the wish of our brethren to commence a regular school with the children, but their state of servitude had hitherto put an insurmountable barrier in their way. All they could do, therefore, consisted in keeping a separate meeting with the children on Sundays, and occasionally also on working-days. These meetings were frequently attended by several hundred, and even by a thousand young people. On these occasions the missionaries adopted the catechetical mode of instruction, giving them texts of Scripture and short hymns to learn, which they repeated at the next meeting. The prejudices, entertained by most planters, against the Negroes learning to read, which had always been the most formidable impediment, began gradually to subside. Our missionaries gladly availed themselves of this favourable change, and in 1810 commenced a regular *Sunday-school* at St. John's, adopting the Lancasterian method of instruction. They were kindly assisted by a worthy young man, belonging to the Methodist Society.

The school was opened on the 3rd of June with eighty scholars, but their number was in a short time increased to seven hundred. The parents of the children, no less than the children themselves, received this instruction with joy and gratitude. The progress of the latter both surprized and delighted their teachers. They remark, in general, that the Negroes evinced a great regard and love for the word of God, and used to steal time from their

hours of rest to learn to read, in order to peruse the holy Scriptures. This rendered the present of bibles and testaments, sent to them by the worthy British and Foreign Bible Society, doubly valuable.

In GRACEHILL, where the duties of the missionaries in preaching in the chapel and on several plantations, left them no time on the Lord's day for keeping school, they endeavoured, in some measure, to obviate this disadvantage by devoting one day in the week to the instruction of the young. The school commenced on the estate of Mr. G. a gentleman who had always shewn himself a zealous promoter of the intellectual and moral improvement of his Negroes. It began with sixty scholars, who attended three hours in the forenoon, and three hours in the afternoon*.

The situation of GRACEBAY being rather unhealthy, our brethren made a purchase of a small estate on the *Manchinel* hill, to which they removed in 1811. The congregation, belonging to that place, then consisted of twelve hundred and sixteen persons, including the catechumens and children.

Very early in the morning of October 1, 1812, the missionaries were roused from sleep by tremendous gusts of wind, the prelude to a hurricane, which raged for several hours with unabating violence, accompanied with heavy thunder and vivid lightning, and a smart shock of an earthquake. Considerable damage was done to the fences, out-houses, and roofs of the three settlements. Happily, however, the chapels and dwelling-houses remained standing, and none of our brethren or sisters suffered any personal injury. The whole year was a very heavy period. Owing to the dryness of the season and the war with America, provisions rose to an exorbitant price; and Indian corn, the common food of the Negroes, was scarcely to be procured for any money. Famine and its constant attendant, disease, prevailed among whites and blacks. More than two hundred of the congregation at ST. JOHN'S finished their earthly career†.

* Per. Acct. Vol. v. 40, 41. and 365. † Ibid. p. 288 and 291.

But, amidst all difficulties, the faith and courage of our missionaries were sustained and animated by repeated proofs that God, not only cared for their temporal wants, but most graciously prospered their exertions for the conversion of the Negroes. If at times they found cause to lament over the lukewarmness, and even the actual apostacy of some of their people, their joy was so much the greater, when, through the faithful care of the good Shepherd, some of these strayed sheep returned to the fold. Among these was the Negroe Mich. Burke, who had been baptized in 1794, but some years afterwards left the fellowship of the believers. After many wanderings he, at length, came back to the missionaries and, having given satisfactory evidence of true repentance and a real change of mind, was readmitted to the congregation in the beginning of 1812. Now he could not find words to bemoan his wicked conduct, or to extol the mercy of our Saviour in again awakening him from the sleep of sin, and not suffering him to be eternally lost. On one occasion he said: "Oh! how much happiness have I lost, which I cannot now regain. Through the tender mercy of the good Shepherd I am brought back to the fold, and plucked as a brand out of the burning, but I have lost much. Tell my brethren and sisters to take warning by me, and not to depart from our Saviour and his congregation, but to hold fast the grace, which they have received. O tell every one from me, to hold fast what they have got." About midsummer he departed this life, relying on the grace of God in Christ Jesus *.

A few weeks later, Stephen, one of their most useful native assistants, likewise exchanged this mortal for immortality. He was greatly beloved by his countrymen, whose lamentations were almost unbounded; but checking themselves they said: "We must submit to the will of God. *He* gave him and *He* has taken him." The missionaries give the following character of him:

"Stephen was of a very warm and positive turn of mind. But when his natural disposition became softened

and sanctified by the grace of God, it became an auxiliary in the service. His fearlessness and decision in declaring his opinion, made him a warm and powerful advocate in the cause of truth. Few Negroes possessed such proper gifts and qualifications for exhorting, as he did. He was well acquainted with the depravity of the human heart, and how it concealed, or showed itself, in a Negroe. He, therefore, could speak of it much to the purpose, and lay open the secret springs of evil, in a manner most intelligible to a Negroe. But the subject, in which his heart and tongue were most alive, was the sufferings and death of our Saviour for the deliverance and salvation of sinners. Here all the energies of his mind seemed to be called forth, and were engaged in extolling the love of Jesus in giving Himself up to such agonies of soul and body, to make an atonement for the sins of men. On such occasions, although he had great fluency of speech, the fervour of his mind, and the quickness of following thoughts, would sometimes be almost too much for the slow process of articulation. He was much esteemed by his master as a faithful and upright servant, and he frequently employed him in the place of a white man as deputy-overseer. Both his master, therefore, and the congregation at GRACEHILL have lost in him a useful servant. But he was more; for he was a servant of God, and as such was called to enter into the joy of his Lord. His age was 74 years *."

Pursuant to some regulations, made in consequence of the abolition of the slave trade, no Negroes from Africa were permitted to be sold, but those, who were captured on board Spanish and Portuguese ships, and brought to the island, were distributed on the estates in order to learn trades, and after fourteen years' service declared free. Our brethren in St. JOHN'S received four girls of this description in 1814, engaging themselves, by proper indentures, to care for them and have them instructed in female work, and in the christian religion for fourteen years.

No event of general interest marked the progress of this mission in subsequent years. According to the most re-

* Per. Acct. Vol. vi. p. 115.

cent intelligence, dated in October 1817, our brethren continued their labours under evident tokens of the divine blessing. The colonial government had pressingly requested the establishment of a fourth missionary station. To effect this, ten acres of land had been secured to our Brethren by a regular deed of conveyance, and a sum of money presented to them from the colonial treasury, towards the erection of the necessary buildings. The proprietors of the neighbouring plantations, being extremely desirous, that their Negroes should hear the gospel, had in the most handsome manner lent their assistance; so that hopes were entertained, that the buildings would be habitable by the end of the year. This promising field requiring an additional number of labourers, the brethren Thos. Ellis and J. Taylor, and their wives, sailed for the West Indies in the spring of 1818; and were prosecuting their voyage when this work was put to press.

A letter, written some years ago by the missionary, Joseph Newby, describes the general eagerness of the Negroes to hear the gospel, and the blessing, with which the Lord crowns the endeavours of his servant, in so pleasing and unaffected a manner, that a few extracts from it will supply a very appropriate conclusion to this section. After referring to the services of Good-friday (1813) and mentioning that the other missionaries were gone to preach on several estates, the writer proceeds thus: "As I sat in my room, having a good view of the roads leading from different plantations, I could see the people running in companies at various distances; and as it occurs with persons, when they are in eager haste after any thing, from which they expect much pleasure, one may see the bent of the mind in the attitude of the body, so it was here. They took every short cut, the young and stout passing before the lame and infirm, and the latter pressing on with all their might, stretching their heads and arms forward, every effort bespeaking the eagerness of their very souls, to be present at a place, where they might hear the marvellous history, how Jesus, the Son of God, gave himself a sacrifice for sinners.

"When I considered that many, if not all, of these poor

people, had just thrown down their hoes, left their noon's morsel, and foregone their little rest in the middle and heat of the day, of which they stood so much in need for the support of their bodies under hard labour, I broke out almost involuntarily in this ejaculation: 'O Lord Jesus! feed these poor hungry souls with the precious word of thy sufferings and death. O enable thy poor, unworthy servant to give them their meat in due season!'

"Reflecting on this subject, which I did with humble gratitude to our gracious Lord and Saviour, I thought, what is it that makes these poor Negroes, who by nature are lazy, sensual, devilish, and who, by being long accustomed to wallow in sin without controul, are far alienated from God, so eager to hear the simple testimony of Jesus' sufferings and death, that they readily forego some of the first and most powerful calls of nature, such as rest and the satisfying of hunger, while the same subject is, to one part of the civilized world, foolishness, and to another, a rock of offence. I was not long left in suspense, how to solve this question. It is the Lord and his Spirit, that hath opened their hearts; and therefore as it was in the days of His flesh, while the proud and self-righteous Pharisee hated and despised Jesus and his doctrine, and the worldling could spare no time from his earthly pursuits, to attend to *him*, who came from heaven to give us everlasting riches; we are repeatedly told, that *the common people heard him gladly*. Thus it is in our day *."

SECTION. IV.

Barbadoes.

THE island to which, in the order of time, the Brethren next directed their attention was BARBADOES. Two brethren went thither in 1765; but one of them departed this life almost immediately, and the other withdrew from their connexion. A third, who was sent to supply the

place of the first, in a short time, followed him into eternity. Thus the undertaking was suspended till 1767, when brother Benjamin Brukshaw, a native of Cheshire, resolved to go thither by himself, and renew the mission. He arrived in the island in May, and immediately waited on the President of the council, and the resident clergy, all of whom approved of his design, and wished him God's blessing for his labours. These he began at *Bridgetown*, preaching the gospel to the Negroes and visiting them on their plantations. Many proprietors favoured the undertaking, encouraged their slaves to hear the gospel, and attended themselves.

In August brother J. Bennet came from North-America to assist in the work. As the number of their hearers was constantly increasing, they purchased a small house and fitted it up, both for dwellings and a meeting-place. The Negroes, not only attended divine service on the Lord's-day, but frequently visited the missionaries during the week; so that they were often employed from morning till night. The gospel found entrance into the hearts of some, and a Negroe woman was baptized on the 10th of September 1768, being the first fruits of this mission. Soon after five others were added to the church by this holy ordinance. Many planters, perceiving the good effects following the labours of our brethren, invited them to preach on their estates*.

This encouraging prospect, however, did not long continue. It soon appeared, that many Negroes had attended the preaching from mere curiosity; these, therefore, as soon as the novelty ceased, intermitted their attendance. Among the few stated hearers little of vital godliness was to be discovered; so that the missionaries found little freedom to admit any to baptism.

After the removal of brother Brukshaw, who in 1771 went to Antigua, and the decease of brother Bennet in 1772, the mission was involved in very distressing circumstances. Pecuniary and other difficulties oppressed it from

* Brethren's History, Vol. i. p. 602.

without, and dissensions among the missionaries themselves disturbed its internal peace, and injured the work in which they were engaged. At length only one missionary was left on the island; and thus, neither the public preaching of the gospel, nor the instruction of the few baptized and the catechumens, could be properly attended to.

The following year brother John Angerman arrived and renewed the work with zeal and courage, and not wholly without success; but he finished his earthly career in 1775. His fellow-labourer continued, amidst many difficulties, to sow the seed of the word, in hopes of a plentiful harvest at some future period, for as yet the prospect was far from encouraging*.

About this time the brethren occupied two stations. Brother Meder and his wife lived in a hired house near BRIDGETOWN, and another missionary and his wife, together with an unmarried brother, resided in the mission-house in the parish of ST. THOMAS. In both these places they suffered severely from the hurricane, which raged in October 1780. Their houses and offices in both places were thrown down. In vain did they seek an asylum in other houses, for they shared the same fate. With the utmost difficulty they escaped being buried under the ruins, and were obliged to weather the storm in the open air, without shelter of any kind. They lost nearly all their provisions and property, and the mission was thus thrown into new difficulties†.

No very promising change took place for several subsequent years. Few Negroes, except those who had formerly been baptized, and who did not exceed twenty in number, attended the preaching. They were indeed ready enough to *assent* to the truth of what the missionaries told them; but secret enmity to the gospel lurked in their hearts, and they appeared to be in an awful manner under the in-

* Brethren's History, Vol. ii. p. 117 and 272.

† The hurricane lasted twenty-four hours. Trees and plantations were destroyed: churches and many houses thrown down; and several thousand persons lost their lives. Brethren's History, Vol. ii. p. 280.

fluence of the power of darkness. The planters also, with few exceptions, were rather averse to their slaves becoming christians *.

In the year 1790 the prospect became more cheering. The auditories increased, and sometimes amounted to a hundred and fifty: a small number indeed, when compared with the crowded congregations in Antigua and the Danish West India islands; but in Barbadoes even *this* increase was hailed with feelings of joy and gratitude. Their zeal and hope were still more enlivened by observing the saving power of the gospel in several heathen Negroes, who were admitted to baptism, and the consistent walk of those who had long been members of the church. By degrees more of the planters became favourably disposed towards the mission, and it was treated with respect by the government †.

The situation of the mission-house in the parish of *St. Thomas* had long been considered as an obstacle to the prosperity of the mission. For some years the dwellings of our brethren had been in a ruinous condition, and the situation both unhealthy and inconvenient, as there was no proper road leading to it, and the members of the congregation resided mostly at a considerable distance. Measures were, therefore, taken in 1794 to obtain a new place for their residence. This was happily accomplished by the purchase of a small estate, containing four acres of ground, with a large house upon it. In July brother *Hofeman* and his wife moved thither, and the other missionaries followed in some time. They found it a very eligible situation, being much nearer to the town than their former residence, and in the midst of populous estates. They called it *SHARON* ‡.

Brother *Hodgson* and his wife, who had for some time served the mission in *St. Kitt's*, but had received an appointment to Barbadoes, on their way to that island from Antigua in 1797, must have been lost at sea, as no intel-

* Brethren's History, Vol. iii. p. 392.

† Ibid. Vol. iv. p. 385.

‡ Per. Acct. Vol. i. p. 260. Ibid. Vol. iii. p. 390.

ligence was received, either from them, or any of the passengers on board the packet with which they sailed *.

The following year brother Waller and his wife, together with the single sister Mary Grant, on their passage from Bristol to Barbadoes, suffered shipwreck off Kinsale in Ireland, the vessel striking on a rock, about two hundred yards from the shore. During four hours they were in constant fear of being swallowed up by the waves; till, by the ebbing of the tide, they found it practicable to reach the land. Scarcely, however, had they escaped the fury of the waves, when a company of robbers rushed upon them with knives and hatchets, and plundered the wreck, threatening the lives of the crew and passengers. Fortunately a party of soldiers at that instant made their appearance, and fired upon the depredators, by which five of them were killed. During this horrid scene the passengers effected their escape, but could save nothing of their property, except the clothes they had on. The ship was entirely lost. The Methodist minister in Kinsale, and several members of his congregation, shewed them much kindness, and supplied them with the needful articles of clothing. In January 1799 they sailed in a vessel from Cork, and had a very pleasant and expeditious voyage to Barbadoes †.

Since the building of the new chapel at SHARON the missionaries had in general pretty large and attentive auditories, and a gradual increase to the number of the baptized, which in 1800 amounted to upwards of one hundred and sixty. In succeeding years no change of any moment occurred in this mission. Compared with the labours of our brethren in the other islands, their exertions here were crowned with little success; but they were encouraged to proceed in the path of duty, when considering the value of one human soul, if gained for Christ by the preaching of the gospel; knowing that 'their judgment was with the Lord, and their reward with their God.'

* Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 389.
Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 389.

† Fer. Acct. Vol. ii. p. 248.

In 1812 an event occurred, which threw all the inhabitants into the utmost consternation; and which was occasioned by the eruption of mount Soufriere. The reader will find an interesting account of this awful phenomenon; as far as its effects were felt in Barbadoes, in the following letter, written by brother Ganson, one of the missionaries:

“ Having had no rain for a long time, April 30th in the evening, about ten o'clock, the sky looked extremely dark, and we expected heavy rain in the night, which being much wanted, created great joy. However, on May 1st, early in the morning, a most extraordinary and awful phenomenon presented itself, to the great alarm of all the inhabitants. At day-break about five o'clock, the horizon to the south, appeared remarkably light. At six, thick clouds had covered the whole sky, from whence issued, not indeed the long expected fruitful rain, but showers of a substance resembling dust, or ashes, but which were particles of volcanic matter. It now grew so excessively dark, that the like had never been seen nor heard of before. It reminded me of that awful darkness, when all nature seemed to shudder, and the sun hid his face at the expiration of the Son of God upon the cross. In this state of awful uncertainty, we looked up to our Almighty Father and Preserver, and he filled our hearts with peace. At seven o'clock our whole family was called together, and during a solemn feeling of our helplessness, we exhorted each other to faith and trust in God our Redeemer, offered up fervent prayer for ourselves and our fellow men, and were richly comforted by a sense of his divine presence. This inexplicable and utter darkness continued till about half past twelve o'clock. About one, a little light from the sun's rays appeared, to the great comfort of every human being in the island. About three o'clock many Negroes from far and near, assembled together in our church, forming a large congregation, to whom a discourse was delivered on the text, “ The works of his hands are verity and judgment; all his commandments are sure.” Psalm cxi. 7. concluded with fervent prayer.

“ The great church of Bridgetown was, on this awful

day so much crowded, that it could hardly contain the people, who, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, with lanterns in their hands, took refuge in the house of prayer; so great was the consternation of all the inhabitants. The above mentioned dust fell to the depth of about three or four inches on even ground, and we have been troubled with clouds of it, raised by the high winds, which have prevailed since that day, yet without rain, insomuch that every thing is dried up, the poor cattle have nothing to eat, and to all appearance both man and beast will have much to suffer. All kinds of provisions are extremely dear.

“ May 6th a member of assembly from St. Vincent arrived here, applying for succour. Our legislature met, and resolved to send a vessel with provisions, to the amount of 2000*l*. which indeed was a noble proof of their humanity and fellow-feeling, considering the lamentable state in which this island is now left. May the Lord grant, these remarkable events to be productive of good fruit in the hearts of all of us, that we may not only be alarmed at his judgments, but be converted in truth unto him, in whom, though earth and heaven be dissolved, his children shall have eternal rest and peace *.”

During the insurrection of the slaves, which broke out in April 1816, but was suppressed by a strong military force, our brethren were preserved from harm by the protecting hand of God, and had the satisfaction to find, that none of the Negroes, belonging to their church, had joined the rebels in their excesses and violence.

Another merciful preservation they experienced during the hurricane, which raged with great violence in St. Lucia and other adjacent islands in October 1817; for though several ships were stranded in the road of Barbadoes, no damage was done in the island.

In general the conversion of the Negroes continued in the same gradual and less striking manner, which has all along characterized the progress of this mission.

SECTION. V.

St. Kitt's.

THE missionaries of the Brethren in Antigua had received repeated invitations to extend their labours to the adjacent island of St. Kitt's. Mr. Gardiner, who had a great number of Negroes on his estates, in a very urgent manner expressed his desire for their instruction in the truths of christianity. In compliance with these wishes, the directors of our missions in 1777 despatched the brethren Birkby and Gottwald, with their wives, to St. Kitt's.

On their arrival they hired a house in the town of BASSETTERRE. Here, and on one of Mr. Gardiner's estates, they regularly preached to the Negroes, who attended in considerable numbers, and by degrees several of them, becoming obedient to the doctrine of Christ, were added to the church by baptism. They also visited on some other plantations, and their testimony of Jesus did not remain unfruitful. Their undertaking was countenanced by most planters; and even during the attack and consequent capture of the island by the French in 1782, they neither received any personal injury, nor were molested in their missionary labours; on the contrary the French commander assured them of his favour and protection*.

The seed of the word, sown in this island, was less rapid in its growth than in some other places, for in 1784 the converts scarcely exceeded forty in number; but the fruit was generally more abiding and exhibited a pleasing degree of maturity. The temporal condition of the Negroes was in many respects superior to the circumstances of the slaves in other islands. Among the converts were several free persons, and others were possessed of considerable property and very decent habitations.

In 1785 the missionaries purchased a small piece of ground, on which they erected the necessary buildings.

* Brethren's History, Vol. ii. p. 269.

Hereby they were provided with greater conveniencies for serving the Negroes with the word and ordinances of the gospel. The number of their hearers and converts increased. This gradually excited observation, and stimulated others to similar exertions. The clergyman in the town held lectures to the Negroes twice in the week, and the Methodist preachers laboured with their accustomed activity. As in the church and among the Methodists the Negroes were sooner admitted to baptism, than among the Brethren, the latter lost some, though but few, of their hearers; for many of the slaves were ambitious to have the name, without any real concern to attain the character of true christians. In reality, however, this was no loss to our missionaries, it rather served to purge their congregation of insincere members, without diminishing the number of their converts. On the contrary, they increased so much in a few years, that it was found necessary to build a larger meeting-house. This was completed in 1789, the christian Negroes not only assisting in the work by manual labour, but also aiding it by pecuniary contributions. On the day of the solemn opening of this chapel eighteen persons were baptized, and three, who had belonged to other denominations, were admitted members of the Brethren's church. The baptized amounted to two hundred and seventy-nine, besides eighty catechumens*.

A fire from the Lord was now kindled in this mission, which continued to burn in subsequent years, so that the number of those, who from the heart believed in our Saviour, was constantly increasing, and in a few years amounted to upwards of two thousand and five hundred. The chapel was crowded with attentive hearers, even on week days; and on the Lord's day, large companies were standing outside and devoutly listening to the words of eternal life. Many Negroes came from a considerable distance, and the overseers and managers encouraged the attendance of their slaves. The missionaries themselves diligently itinerated through the country, preaching on several estates; and this, no doubt, was one great cause of the success which rewarded their labours. The eagerness

* Brethren's History, Vol. iii. p. 289.

of the Negroes to be instructed was well accounted for by one of them in the following simple manner. His master asking him, why the Negroes went so often to the chapel of the Brethren, as their masters never attended divine service but on Sundays; the slave replied, 'Aye, you, sir, have the bible, which you may read as often as you please; we poor Negroes have not this treasure; and we have long led very wicked lives; but now God hath sent teachers to us, from whom we learn what our Saviour hath suffered for sinners; and that he is willing to forgive our sins. Do you not think, sir, that this is a great benefit conferred on us, and that it ought to make our souls hunger after it * ?'

In 1792 our missionaries were thrown into some perplexity, happily however of short duration, by the following circumstance. They had employed, as one of their assistants, a mulatto, Thomas Gordon who had received some education. On his return from England, where he had been several times before, a suspicion was excited, that he had been implicated in the insurrection of the well-known Lord Gordon, to whose family he was allied, and that he had brought insurrectionary proclamations to the island. On strict investigation, however, his complete innocence of the crime with which he was charged, was most satisfactorily proved †.

During the night preceding Easter Sunday in 1792, the town of BASSETERRE was visited by a dreadful inundation. Many houses were swept away, and several lives lost. Our missionaries were mercifully preserved, though their premises sustained considerable injury, and only two members of the congregation were drowned. Their chapel was the only place of worship fit for performing divine service ‡.

A hurricane which raged in August the following year, caused great destruction on their premises. It was next to a miracle that their dwelling house was not totally

* Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 396. † Ibid. p. 399. ‡ Per. Acct. Vol. i. p. 109.

demolished. The missionary family took refuge in the chapel, and were graciously preserved, though all the spouts were blown down and the building itself cracked several times, as if crushed by some immense weight falling upon it*.

Amidst these outward distresses the work of the Lord prospered. Divine service in BASSETERRE was often attended by very crowded auditories; and doors were opened to the missionaries on fifty plantations for preaching to the Negroes. At the close of 1794 the members of their congregation were one thousand four hundred and ninety-eight; and this number was by the end of 1800 increased to two thousand five hundred and sixty-nine †.

In consequence of the contest between Great Britain and France, provisions rose to an exorbitant price, which often reduced the Negroes to extreme want. And as the island was frequently threatened with hostile invasion, it was found necessary, in 1805, to enrol a *black corps* to assist in its defence. The missionaries observed with deep regret, that the new mode of life, thus introduced among the Negroes, had an injurious influence on their spiritual course, and they neglected no seasonable opportunity for exhorting their converts to prayer and watchfulness, and steadfast reliance on God, their almighty Saviour ‡.

The threatened invasion was mercifully averted at the period, just referred to; but in March 1805 the enemy put his threats into execution. On the 5th of that month a French fleet, consisting of ten sail, hove in sight, and came into the road of BASSETERRE. This spread universal consternation through the town, and most of the inhabitants fled into the country. Our brethren however remained; and such was the confidence, which their fellow citizens reposed in them, that many brought their most valuable property to them for security, and some even sought a shelter for themselves in the church. The French General Balbot fixed his head quarters in their neighbourhood, and stationed a guard of four men and a corporal at the entrance of the burying ground.

* *Per. Acct.* Vol. i. p. 227. † *Brethren's History*, Vol. iv. p. 376. ‡ *Ibid.* 378.

Finding resistance would be vain, the council deputed some gentlemen to the French Admiral and General, in order to capitulate. The terms of capitulation were in a short time agreed upon, and the enemy left the island after levying a contribution, burning five ships, and a sloop, spiking the cannons, and demolishing the powder-magazines. Thus, by the mercy of God, tranquillity was restored in a few days, and our brethren, without having suffered any injury, could resume their missionary employments without fear or interruption *. Towards the close of the year 1806, C. F. Richter and his wife and brother Eusebius Williams arrived in St. Kitt's, in order to strengthen the hands of the old missionaries. But the great Head of his church was pleased to remove the latter into eternal rest before the termination of another year. He died rather suddenly on the 12th of December 1807, having the day before been seized with a paralytic affection, which lamed his right arm and both feet, and deprived him of the power of speech. His fellow missionaries severely lamented their loss of him, for his amiable and affectionate disposition had procured for him the esteem and love of all who knew him, and during the short period, in which he served this mission, he had manifested an earnest desire, and an ever wakeful zeal to promote the conversion of the Negroes, and their true welfare for time and eternity †.

In 1813 the mission sustained another loss by the removal of brother Geo. Ch. Schneller to England. Increasing infirmities, being in his 73rd year, induced him to retire from active services. He had spent thirty years in labouring for the conversion of the Negroes, namely, five years in Antigua, and twenty-five in St. Kitt's. After his return to Europe, he resided in the Brethren's settlement of Fairfield near Manchester, where he finished his earthly pilgrimage and entered into the joy of his Lord, on September 15th 1814. His brethren delineate his qualifications as a missionary in the following terms: "His inoffensive, unblameable deportment, and amiable and upright character procured for him the esteem of all ranks,

* *Per. Acct.* Vol. iii. p. 393—395 † *Ibid.* Vol. iv. p. 174.

from the President to the meanest slave. In all his transactions it was evident, that he had a single eye to the glory of God, and the prosperity of the important work in which he was employed. His diligence and faithful attention to every part of his charge were most exemplary; and while he gained the love and confidence of the Negroes by his affability and kindness, he maintained that respect among them, which was due to his station, and gave weight to his admonitions, and to the exercise of proper discipline in the church *."

For some years no striking occurrences marked the progress of this mission: those who laboured in it, attended with persevering zeal to the instruction of the Negroes in the faith and practice of christianity; and the vacancies, occasioned by the removal of some into the land of pure delights, were soon supplied by other devoted servants of God, who accounted it an honour to preach unto the gentiles, "the unsearchable riches of Christ." Their testimony did not return unto them void. In every year some believed, and were added to the church by baptism; and others finished their earthly career in hope of the glory of God, a hope grounded on their having in truth embraced the doctrine of Christ and his atonement.

From the reports of the missionaries of later years, it appears, that their congregation has rather diminished in number: a circumstance which probably is, in part at least, owing to the increasing exertions of other christians in the same noble work, and cannot therefore be considered as a real declension of religion in this island. The most recent intelligence received from this mission, mentions that our brethren had baptized forty-seven adults during the year 1816: but it does not state the number of members composing their congregation at that period.

The history of the missionary labours of the United Brethren in the West Indies, furnishes an evidence of the truth and excellence of the gospel, which it seems almost impossible to resist. Here we not only behold the dark-

ness of pagan superstition dispersed by the rays of divine light, emanating from the sun of righteousness, and the devotees of idolatry and vice made willing to exchange the demoralizing system of a false religion for one, which, besides the spiritual and eternal blessings it confers on its true votaries, promises to elevate their character even in this world, and impart to them the comforts of civilized society; but we find persons in the lowest state of servitude eagerly embracing the doctrine of the gospel, and boldly confessing it before men, though that very confession often served only to rivet their chains, and add cruel sufferings to their slavery.

Surely that doctrine must be of God, which thus wonderfully influences the minds of the Negroes, and while it inspires those, who believe it, with the hope of eternal felicity in a future life, enables them cheerfully to submit to all the hardships of a state of bondage, and even to rejoice in their slavery, as the means of making them acquainted with true *freedom*, the freedom of the soul from the fetters of sin. Were it possible to find an excuse for the traffic in human blood, the christian would doubtless find it in this, that a mysterious and merciful providence hath over-ruled it for the salvation of hundreds and thousands, who having come out of much tribulation, and washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, will one day join in the celestial song of praise to him, *who was sent to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.*

CHAP. VI.

MISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE missionary settlements of the United Brethren in this quarter of the world, lie on its southern extremity, in the colony of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. It is a territory of very considerable extent, containing several ridges of high and steep mountains, and barren tracts of land, diversified by fruitful vallies and fine pasture-grounds, and intersected by several large and rapid rivers, which, during the rainy season, are greatly swollen, and often cause destructive inundations. Lying in a southern latitude, the seasons of the year are exactly contrary to ours: so that it is winter at the Cape when it is summer in Europe.

In 1669 the Dutch took possession of this country, and, excepting an interval of a few years during the late war, retained the sovereignty over it, till after the restoration of peace in 1814, when it was finally ceded to England. After the Dutch had made themselves masters of it, they established several colonies, which also served for military stations, or posts, occupied by inferior magistrates. In order to promote the cultivation of the land, it was let to European colonists, on paying a certain impost to government. These settlers, being mostly farmers, took possession of the fruitful districts, and by degrees drove the original inhabitants into the mountains, and barren parts of the country. The only town of note is Capetown, contiguous to Table-bay, and below the Table and Lion mountains. It is a place of considerable importance, and chiefly inhabited by Europeans.

The *Hottentots*, or original inhabitants, are a pastoral tribe, and consequently lead a roving life; for they never plant, or cultivate the ground; their riches consisting solely in oxen, cows and sheep. Their chief food is milk

and boiled meat, to which they occasionally add some wild roots, either raw or boiled. Their dwellings are low, round huts, terminating in a point at the top. They are covered with skins and mats, and skins are likewise spread on the ground. The opening, left for a door, is so low, that a person must creep into it. A number of huts standing together, is called a *Kraal*, and is generally built in a circular form. They mostly appoint one to be the captain or chief in each *Kraal*.

The Hottentots are generally low in stature; have pouting lips and flat noses, like the Negroes, with black hair; the colour of their skin resembling copper. Their clothing consists of a sheep-skin hanging loosely over their shoulders, and another tied round the waist. The former they take off when at work. Both men and women carry a bag, made of the entire skin of a Gazelle, on their backs, which contains their tobacco, pipe, tinder box, &c. They are of a phlegmatic disposition, naturally inclined to indolence, and often spend whole days in sitting or lying on the ground, either smoking tobacco, or sleeping. They have no divine worship, and few, if any, religious ceremonies*, and in their savage state appear a very stupid race, almost void of the power of reflection and reason: without any knowledge of divine subjects, but a vague notion, that there is one great Lord of all, and likewise an evil spirit, or devil. Of the latter, however, they do not seem afraid. They are remarkable for honesty; and never touch the property of others, though constantly lying within their reach. If they find any thing, which has been lost, they faithfully restore it to the owner, and it is an extremely rare case, that a Hottentot, however, strongly tempted by the pinchings of

* They are said to observe an annual festival on the day when the *Seven Stars* appear, which happens at the beginning of summer. As soon as they become visible, the parents wake the children and take them into the field, to show them the stars. All the inhabitants of the *Kraal* then meet together to dance and sing. They sing words to the following effect: "O Sita, (or Toiqua,) thou father over our heads, give us rain, that all our fruits may ripen, and we may have food in plenty. Grant us a good year, that we may not be obliged to rob the white people, nor they to come and kill us." *Per. Aect.* Vol. v. p. 106.

hunger, will become guilty of theft. Formerly the education of their children was very severe, and they never suffered those of both sexes to mix together, except at festivities; and even then the elder boys and girls were committed to the care of some respectable old matrons. Their veneration for aged people was great. Persons guilty of adultery, or fornication, were either killed or banished; and various means used to preserve morality. Their want of cleanliness, arising from their clothing and mode of living, is very offensive to Europeans.

After the Dutch had taken possession of the country, many Hottentots were hired as servants by the colonists, or farmers, who frequently treated them in a very oppressive manner, and, instead of bestowing any pains on their moral improvement, seemed rather resolved to perpetuate their degradation. But, since British law has been introduced in the country, the Hottentots have been relieved from the oppressive yoke of servitude, under which they formerly groaned. Most of the farmers have imbibed more liberal principles; and the blessing, which God hath laid upon their instruction in christianity, has shown, that they are neither beyond the reach of divine mercy, nor incapable of acquiring habits of industry, and improving in moral character.

The *Bosjemans* form another tribe of pagans, inhabiting this country. This tribe lives beyond the Snow mountains in the Pampus hills, several hundred miles in the interior. They are properly descendants of the *same* Hottentots, (i. e. those who live among the farmers,) and are a much more numerous tribe. By the cruel treatment of the colonists, who hunted them like wild beasts, often murdering hundreds at a time, they were driven into the woods and mountains. When pinched by hunger, they in their turn attack the farmers, and drive away their cattle. A Bosjeman, a son of their King, who became a convert to christianity, and lived at GNADENTHAL, once gave the missionaries the following account of his nation:

“ The power of their King is absolute, and he exercises an uncontrolled right over the very lives of his sub-

jects. They suffer no stranger to live among them; and if any of their people go away and become christians, they dare not return, as in that case they are sure of being murdered. They are divided into various clans or herds, each of which obeys the oldest man as its chief, but these are subordinate to the king. They live chiefly by plunder. Formerly they, as well as all the other Hottentots, were a quiet and well-disposed people, but being deprived of their land, and robbed of their cattle by the Europeans, they became, in their turn, savage, and given to plunder. They perform a kind of religious worship to two rocks; the one representing a male and the other a female. When going out to hunt they implore the aid of these pretended deities, to provide them with food. First they go to the male rock and strike against it with a stick. If it sounds, they believe the report is heard in heaven, and that they will have success. But if they get nothing, they repair to the female rock, of which they pretend, that it is inhabited by a malicious spirit, and beat it well, upbraiding it, saying: 'Why do you, by your hidden arms, cause all the game to be shot dead, so that we can find none.' If they have succeeded, they extol the virtues of these stone gods."

A third heathen nation in South Africa, of whom some have embraced the gospel, are the *Caffres*. They inhabit the territory beyond the Great Fish River, which divides it from the country of the Hottentots. They are tall and well-proportioned; their skin is jet black, their eyes large and their teeth very white. They dress in skins, and decorate themselves with rings, corals, &c. Their huts are more convenient than those of the Hottentots, and their land more fertile; and they apply themselves with greater industry to the cultivation of their fields and gardens. Regarding their religious notions, a Caffre woman residing in the mission-settlement, once related the following: "We know there is a God by his great works, and we worship him. In a thunder-storm, if the lightning strikes into any place near a Kraal, all the Caffres put away the clothes they have on, wash themselves, and dress in their cleanest clothes. Then the oldest man erects a high pole on the spot, where the lightning struck. On this pole all

present hang their corals and other ornaments. Those, who possess cattle, bring one or more fat oxen, and offer them as a burnt-offering. The people sit in silence round the fire, till the whole is consumed." A company of Caffres, who once visited BAVIAN'S KLOOF, when they had finished their dinner, rose up, and, forming a circle, began to sing, (first lifting up their eyes to heaven, and during the latter part looking down.) The import of the hymn was, that they first praised God, as the dispenser of every good gift; and then thanked their friends for their kindness.

Besides these, some individuals of the *Dambra*, *Namagua* and *Tambukky* nations have settled with the missionaries, and become obedient to the gospel. All these nations live in the interior, at a distance of one or two thousand miles from Cape-town:

The usual mode of travelling in this country is, either on horseback, or in a waggon, mostly drawn by oxen, who are more sure-footed in crossing the mountains, which are frequently very steep, abounding in precipices, and without proper roads. Great expedition, therefore, is not to be expected, especially as they have often to ford deep and dangerous rivers; and they seldom, even with twelve or sixteen oxen to a waggon, travel more than thirty miles a day. There are no rivers, and they generally travel twelve hours without stopping to bait. With horses they drive and ride in full gallop, even up and down hill, -if the ascent be not too long and steep; and as far again in a day as with oxen. Every waggon is accompanied by a Hottentot boy, who leads the first pair of oxen, and he must proceed though the water, when crossing a river, should reach his shoulders. This hard duty they perform day and night, without being, to appearance, much fatigued. The driver sits upon the waggon, and makes use of a whip, which from the handle to the end of the lash, is upwards of forty feet long. He uses both hands to wield it, and does it with such dexterity, as exactly to hit the beast he aims at. The following extract from the journal of one of the missionaries, will give some idea of this mode of travelling:

“ We set off with two waggons, each drawn by twelve oxen. Having travelled through the night, and passed *Bolter* river early in the morning, we halted and sent our oxen to graze. We kindled a fire, got breakfast, and afterwards had some sleep in the waggon. When we awoke all our oxen were gone, and, though we made an immediate search, we did not find them till in the afternoon. About four o'clock we proceeded. We dreaded the ascent of a mountain, called *Hohennek* (high ridge,) and indeed by the time we had reached its foot, our cattle could hardly crawl along. This mountain is very steep and rocky, and it requires about an hour and a half to walk to the summit. We had not ascended about half a mile, when the oxen stood still, and we were obliged to unharness them, and put twenty fresh ones to the waggon. I walked forward, as the jolting was intolerable; but when I had reached the top, I perceived the waggon did not follow, being jammed in between the rocks. Having with much difficulty disengaged it, we reached the summit about seven in the evening. At two o'clock next morning, we arrived at *Palmite* river, and soon after at *Hottentot Holland's Kloof*. The road over this mountain resembles a steep, rugged range of steps; but, with the help of twenty fresh oxen, we gained the summit at four o'clock. We walked down the steep descent. The wind was piercing and so violent, that we were obliged to hold fast to one another, to avoid being blown down. Having arrived at the foot, I sat down to rest in a cave. The descending waggon exhibited a very singular appearance, the hind wheels, being locked, grated with such force against the hard rock, that a stream of fire seemed to issue beneath them.”

Nearly all the Hottentots, residing among the farmers, and even many in the interior, understanding more or less of the Dutch language, the missionaries perform divine service in that language, and teach it in the schools.

SOME pious gentlemen in Amsterdam having applied to the Brethren in Herrnhut, to send a missionary to the Cape of Good Hope, for the purpose of instructing the

Hottentots in christianity; brother George Schmidt, a man of great zeal and courage, and who had evinced his faith and constancy during six years' imprisonment, in Bohemia, for his bold confession of the gospel, was found willing to begin this Mission. On his arrival in Amsterdam he presented a petition to the Burgomaster, and court of Directors of the East India Company, requesting leave to go to the colony. They admitted his petition and appointed some clergymen to examine him. These, at first, endeavoured to dissuade him from the undertaking; but, when they found him firm to his purpose, and determined to venture in the name and strength of the Lord, they put no further impediments in his way, and wished him God's blessing. In a few weeks he received the final answer from the court of directors, permitting him to take his passage on board one of their ships; and, besides the necessary passport, one of them gave him letters of recommendation to both the governors at the Cape.

After much delay and a tedious passage he arrived at Capetown on the 9th of July 1797, and, without loss of time, waited on the governors. One of them, Mr. von Kerbel received him with great kindness, inviting him to visit him without ceremony.

In a few weeks he removed into the country, and fixed his residence in a place about seventy miles from Capetown. Here he erected a small hut, and laid out a garden. Besides a corporal, who was sent to this place to procure provisions for the soldiers, brother Schmidt was accompanied by two Hottentots, Africo and Kibbodo. But, as it was intimated to him, that he lived too near the Company's Post, he removed the following spring to a desert place on Sergeant's river.

He was followed by eighteen Hottentots: one of whom he took to live with him in his hut. Their number gradually increased: every morning and evening they met for religious worship, Africo acting as interpreter. Finding their language very difficult to learn, he taught them Dutch, and commenced keeping school with Africo's chil-

dren. Many other parents sent their children likewise, so that, in a short time, he had from thirty to fifty scholars. The blessing of God evidently rested on his labours. He was respected and beloved by the Hottentots, who attentively listened to his discourses, and his testimony of Christ reached their consciences, whereby some were roused from the sleep of sin, and led to a saving knowledge of the gospel. This was particularly manifest in Willem, the Hottentot who lived with him. Being once asked by the missionary, how he felt disposed towards our Saviour? he replied: "If all my countrymen were to forsake our Saviour, yet I would not go away; for with *him* is life. I know that I am not yet as I ought to be; but I will nevertheless abide with Jesus, and will not cease praying to him, till I experience the full power of his precious blood to change my heart." This man, in the sequel, became a very useful assistant to brother Schmidt, who baptized him in a small rivulet, on his return from a visit in Capetown, whither Willem had accompanied him in March 1742. Some time after three men and two women were admitted to this holy rite; and the number of those, who regularly attended his ministry, amounted to forty seven.

The circumstances of the mission requiring that brother Schmidt should pay a visit to Europe, he left the Cape in October 1743, and sailed for Holland, having previously made over his house and garden to one of the baptized Hottentots, called Christian.

The adversaries of the Brethren, both in the colony and in the mother-country, opposed the return of the missionary, under pretence of zeal for the purity of the doctrine and the peace of the church. The repeated requests of the Brethren to be heard in their defence were disregarded, and though some ministers and other friends in Holland interested themselves in their behalf, their influence was insufficient to turn the leading members in the church and the East India Company.

The directors of the missions, however, never lost sight of this promising field; but all their endeavours, for

many years, proved unsuccessful. These failures were the more distressing, as they occasionally received intelligence of the anxiety, with which the Hottentots were waiting for the return of their beloved teacher, and of the good impressions, made on their minds by his instructions, which they manifested by meeting together for the purpose of edifying each other by the word of God.

At length, towards the close of the eighteenth century various circumstances concurred to pave the way for the renewal of the mission in South Africa. The doctrine and discipline of the Brethren's church had become better known, many respectable persons, both among the clergy and laity, espoused their cause; and while the opponents of it obstructed its progress, its friends collected liberal sums towards the accomplishment of this object, and grew more earnest and persevering in their supplications to God for its success; and they finally prevailed. The Brethren having laid a petition before the directors of the East India Company, it was very favourably received, and their request to form a missionary establishment in the territory of the Cape was granted. Among those persons of rank, whose influence had no inconsiderable share in promoting the wish of the Brethren, the name of Temmink ought not to be omitted. He was president of the board of directors, and throughout the whole transaction approved himself the sincere friend of the Brethren.

The transactions with the East India Company having been brought to this pleasing issue; the directors of the missions appointed three brethren, Henry Marsveld, Daniel Schwinn and John Christian Kuehnelt, to renew the mission among the Hottentots. They were all mechanics, and as such better qualified for engaging in those labours, which are rendered absolutely necessary at the commencement of a mission, than men of learning; but they were not defective either in soundness of understanding, or in piety, and zealously devoted to the cause in which they had embarked. They arrived at Capetown towards the end of November 1792, being nearly fifty years after the late George Schmidt had left this country.

In Cape-town they became acquainted with many pious friends, who sincerely rejoiced at their arrival, and gave glory to God, that he had thus opened a door for the introduction of the gospel among the Hottentots. The governor, on whom they waited almost as soon as they had arrived, likewise received them with great condescension, wishing them God's blessing for their undertaking, and promising his protection and assistance, whenever needed.

Having received directions, to put themselves under the protection of Baas Teunis*, during their journey into the interior; they had to wait some weeks for his arrival. Under his conduct they commenced their journey on the 20th of December, in a waggon drawn by twelve oxen, and on the 24th arrived at BAVIAN'S KLOOF (baboon's glen,) about one hundred and twenty miles east of Cape-town. This place had been pointed out to them, by the governor and other friends, as the most suitable for a missionary settlement. It was the very spot, in which the first missionary, Geo. Schmidt, had resided. They found a piece of the wall of his former dwelling still standing, and likewise several fruit-trees planted by him in his garden, among which they particularly noticed a large pear-tree, under the shade of which they held their meetings for worship, till the building of their new house was completed. Fragments of other walls were discernible here and there, being the ruins of cottages, built by the Hottentots round the habitation of their former teacher.

Those Hottentots, who still remembered brother Schmidt, or had heard of his exertions for the good of their nation, welcomed them with great cordiality, expressing their joy, that teachers were again come to instruct them in the word of God. Among them was old Helena, who had been baptized by brother Schmidt, and was now upwards of eighty years of age, and almost blind. She still remembered her

* Baas is a title of office and signifies overseer, or inspector, of an extensive district. In this capacity Mr. Teunis exercised a legal authority, not only over the Hottentots, but also over the farmers in that district, to which our missionaries were going, and he had received orders from government to protect them against any molestation or encroachments they might meet with, and provide them with every thing requisite for their establishment.

former teacher, but had nearly forgotten all he had taught her. She brought a Dutch New Testament which he had given her, and which she had carefully preserved in a leather bag, wrapped in two sheep-skins. On showing it to the missionaries, she opened one of the gospels and read the history of our Saviour's nativity. By frequent intercourse with them, her recollection of the instructions she had formerly received, revived; and fixing her abode at BAVIAN'S KLOOF, she spent her latter years in comfort and peace, and amidst great weakness and many bodily sufferings, exhibited the character of a true child of God. She was well known in the country, and respected by many persons of distinction: Most of the English officers, who, in the sequel, visited the settlement, called to see her, and she declared to all, both high and low, her faith in our Saviour, and her ardent desire to depart and be with Christ. She fell asleep in Jesus on the 2d of January, 1800, having probably attained the age of nearly a hundred years.

Other Hottentots, however, appeared rather suspicious of the missionaries. One man, being asked, whether he had heard, that teachers were come to instruct the natives, answered: "Yes, we have heard it; some of our men have told us, that people are come to teach us, and that they will treat us very kindly in the beginning; but, if we listen to them, more will come, and make us slaves and transport us to Batavia." Baas Teunis, who was present, replied: "Government has sent these men to instruct you, and if you are willing to learn, to teach you what is good and bad, and baptize you. Then you will be christians as well as the farmers, and they dare not hurt you. The governor loves you, and has therefore sent teachers to you, charging me to bring them to you. If they were not good men he would not have recommended them to me, nor would I have brought them to you."

While their own house was building, our brethren resided with Baas Teunis, who treated them with much civility and kindness. Here they became acquainted with a great many of the farmers in that district, and had an opportunity of discovering the sentiments generally entertain-

ed respecting the mission. Though opinions were various, yet it soon appeared, that many were not well-disposed to-
towards the undertaking. Several Hottentots had declared, that they would no longer work for the farmers, but go to the missionaries to receive instruction. This exasperated the farmers, and they tried every means in their power, to obstruct the work, as will appear in the sequel of the narrative. The missionaries, however, had the countenance of government, of which they received fresh assurances while at Baas Teunis's. On the 26th of December the landdrost, (or chief justice,) of Stellenbosch, paid them a visit, informing them, that the government at the Cape had sent a circular to all the landdrosts and field corporals, requiring them to exert their authority, in case any of the farmers should prevent the Hottentots, who wished it, from receiving religious instruction; adding, that as he was the chief magistrate in that district, he would exert his authority to redress their grievances, as far as lay in his power. As an additional security, they received a copy of the resolutions adopted by the council of Police, on December 18th 1794, in favour of the mission.*

Their house being so far finished, that they could inhabit one of the rooms, they moved into it on February 2nd. 1793. They now informed the Hottentots, that they would shortly begin a school, both for the adults and chil-

* This document, among others, contained the following Resolutions:—
“ The governor reported, that he had endeavoured to procure the necessary permission for the missionaries to settle at Bavian's Kloof, and in this view laid their request before the General Commissioners, who had ordered, that not only their request should be granted, but that all the resolutions made by the honorable board of Seventeen, and inserted in their rescript in behalf of the missionaries, should be perpetually adhered to. — Resolved, That in order to comply with the above gracious order, the missionaries are permitted to go to Bavian's-Kloof, - - - - to preach the gospel to the Hottentots - - - - And that they may obtain the aim of their mission, they shall not in any wise be molested in the place of their residence, and the landdrost of Stellenbosch is hereby directed to give orders to the Feldwacht-maister (inferior district officer, that no injury shall be done them, either in their persons or property, or in their daily avocations, but that every one shall endeavour to promote their safety, and give them all due assistance. Resolved, finally, that directions be given to Martin Teunis, Baas of the Company's post, Soete Melks Valley, in whose company the missionaries travel, to take steps that they be received by the colonists in a respectful manner, and provided with all necessaries.” *Per. Aect. Vol. I. p. 290.*

dren, to teach them to read. This school was opened on the 4th of March, with twenty-four adults, whose number was shortly increased to upwards of forty, besides above thirty children. They attended very regularly, and showed great eagerness to learn. The missionaries also kept a meeting every evening, in which they read and explained a lesson out of the Bible. The reverential stillness, with which the Hottentots attended these meetings, the eagerness with which they listened to the discourse, and the emotion visible in their countenances, the more astonished our brethren, as they had been told, they would find it impossible to fix the attention of their hearers, even to the shortest address, if of a serious nature. The work was evidently the Lord's own doing. A report had spread far and wide, that God had sent teachers to the Hottentots to instruct them in the way of salvation, and that those, who neglected the due improvement of these instructions, would render themselves liable to be severely punished by God.

Perceiving, in some of their hearers, clear evidences of conviction of sin and a desire to live to the Lord, and forsake their pagan superstitions and sinful practices, they gave them more particular instruction in the doctrines of the gospel, for the purpose of preparing them for the reception of holy baptism. A woman was the first Hottentot admitted to this sacred rite, and the solemn act was performed on the 31st of July, 1793, in the presence of seventy-eight persons. Before the end of the year the number of the baptized amounted to seven. Concerning these transactions, our brethren remark :—" We cannot find words to express the powerful sensation of the grace of God, which prevailed on these occasions, and the impression made on those who were present. These days were truly festival days to us. The Hottentots were visibly affected, and declared their earnest desire to be made partakers of the same grace."

The missionaries had frequent opportunities of witnessing the salutary influence of the gospel on the minds and conduct of their hearers, in arousing them from the sleep of sin, and disposing them to conform to the plain pre-

cepts of the New Testament. This evidenced itself even in things of comparatively minor importance, and concerning which our brethren had hitherto refrained from giving them any particular admonitions. Passionately fond as they are of dancing, they voluntarily and entirely relinquished this amusement, as soon as they came to reside in the settlement; and with the same willingness of mind they abolished the feasting and other foolish customs used at funerals. They even considered it a duty, when they had occasion to take a journey, or be absent from the settlement, to inform the missionaries of it, in order to obtain their consent and advice.

Pleasing and animating as these occurrences were, various difficulties, and even dangers, were for a while permitted to exercise the faith of our brethren and the friends of the mission. In the beginning of May they were alarmed by rumours of insurrectionary movements among the colonists, originating in a project for new imposts. But, as government soon after withdrew this measure, tranquillity was again restored. Scarce, however, had their fears in this respect been allayed, when more serious dangers threatened the colony, the inhabitants of Cape-town being in continual fear of a hostile attack from the French. In order to be in some degree prepared, all the men, capable of bearing arms, were ordered to the town. This order extended likewise to the Hottentots, who were settled at BAVIAN'S KLOOF; which was thus drained of nearly all its male inhabitants. This circumstance accounts for it, that none but females were baptized by the missionaries during the first year of their abode in the country.

The men, on leaving the settlement, were in fervent prayer commended to God, and exhorted to remember the instructions they had received. It gave their teachers great satisfaction to learn, that Mr. Van Silk, who kept a school in Cape-town, had kindly interested himself for the Hottentots belonging to BAVIAN'S-KLOOF. He had given them Spelling-books, as they had left their own at home, and visited them every saturday, though they were stationed at the distance of three miles from the town, for the purpose of instructing them in the truths of the gospel.

The absence of the men from the settlement threw their wives and children into great distress. Some lived almost entirely on wild honey, which they found in hollow trees in the mountains *. Their distress at length rose to such a pitch, that some were wholly destitute of food. In this extremity they obtained some relief by the rights of hospitality, universally observed among the Hottentots; and, through the interference of Baas Teunis, five of the men came home on furlough towards the end of July; and at the close of the year most of the men were at home for some weeks. Government also assisted them, by sending money and flour for the most indigent, and ordering a quantity of corn to be sown for those, who were on duty in Cape-town.

More distressing than the difficulties just related, were the impediments, thrown in the way of the mission by its adversaries. The reins of government having come into the hands of other men, the mission no longer enjoyed the same degree of favour and protection as at the beginning. In June 1793 a farmer in the neighbourhood would not suffer the Hottentots of BAVIAN'S KLOOF to plough the land on the opposite side of Sergeant's river. In this case, however, the landdrost decided in their favour, giving them permission to till the land, for about one and a half square miles, on either side of the river. A similar attempt to circumscribe the limits of the land, belonging to the settlement, was made by a fieldcorporal in 1794; and our missionaries found considerable difficulty in obtaining the security they sought against future encroachments of this kind. Finding the landdrost of

* A certain bird, (called by Dr. Sparrmann, *Cuculus indicator*, and in Dutch, *Honigwyzer*, i. e. *honey-guide*,) serves them as a guide to find the honey. The missionaries once were eye-witnesses of this. A Hottentot, having given a loud whistle, a bird of this species made his appearance, and hopped from tree to tree, till he alighted on one, where he remained and continued chirping. This served the Hottentot as a sign. He climbed up the tree with a firebrand in his hand, the smoke of which drove away the bees: and thus he could gather the honey. The little that is left, is the share of the bird. This search, however, is not always without danger; for sometimes a wolf is found in the hollow of the tree, instead of honey. It is advisable, therefore, to be armed with a gun when making this search. Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 196.

Stellenbosch unwilling, or unable, to redress the grievances of which they complained, brother Marsveld was obliged to go to Cape-town, and apply for redress at the seat of government. The commandant Rhenius, and colonel Gordon (a Dutch officer) received him with their wonted kindness, and promised to befriend the mission to the utmost of their power. The newly appointed commissioners likewise treated him with civility, promising an alteration of the projected measure ; but brother Marsveld could not prevail on them to furnish him with a written document, which might legally secure the possession of the land, hitherto occupied by the mission. They insisted, that the verbal assurances, given to the Brethren by the former commissioners, were sufficiently clear and decisive, with respect to the occupancy of BAVIAN'S KLOOF. This in some measure tranquillized their minds.

Their perplexity, however, did not terminate here. The rapid increase of their hearers and scholars rendered the erection of a chapel absolutely necessary. At first every thing seemed to favour the projected undertaking. Their friends proffered them pecuniary aid, and Baas Teunis promised to give them timber, and to encourage the Hottentots to assist in the building. In a short time, however, he retracted his promise, alleging as a reason, that a change was contemplated regarding the post he had hitherto occupied under government, on which account he could not promote the building of their intended chapel, and must advise them to defer its execution. Not discouraged by this unexpected obstruction, they again applied to him for his interference and assistance, but found him resolute in his opposition, and he even told them, they must relinquish every idea of building a chapel, till they had obtained another place for a settlement. An application to the governor on this subject proved equally unsuccessful ; and he would not even allow them to build a temporary shed, to serve as a place of worship.

The sudden change in the sentiments and behaviour of Baas Teunis, who had hitherto always treated them with every mark of friendship, combined with several other

unpleasant circumstances, seemed to require, that one of the missionaries should go to Cape-town. This duty devolved upon brother Schwinn, who set out from BAVIAN'S KLOOF towards the end of September. On his arrival in Cape-town he waited upon the governor, and expressed to him the perplexity, into which the missionaries had been thrown, in consequence of a rumour, widely circulated through the country, that they would be ordered to quit their present settlement. The answer of the governor, though tranquillizing for the time, left them still in uncertainty as to the future. Among other remarks, he said: "The Brethren must retain their present place of abode, which was given them by the commissaries general, and no alteration would be made till after their return from Batavia. The directors of the company had permitted them to settle in a place, where there was no christian congregation; agreeably to this they ought properly to move to the confines of Caffraria," &c. When brother Schwinn represented the necessity of building a chapel, the governor replied: "He could not allow this; things must remain as he had found them; if they built a church, it would be objected to, as being done in a place, where there was a christian congregation." He advised them to engage in their missionary calling with as little observation as possible, adding "there was no alternative; for the Brethren had many enemies; and if it had not been for his interposition, they would long ago have been expelled the territory, and sent to the Caffres." From these and other observations it was sufficiently evident, that fear for greater evils induced the governor to make some concessions to the adversaries of the mission. Subsequent events showed, that his fears were not wholly groundless*.

Not long after brother Schwinn's return from Cape-

* On this journey to Cape-town brother Schwinn experienced the ill-will of some of the colonists. Contrary to the established usage of hospitality, and in defiance of the order of government, some farmers refused to lodge and entertain him. In consequence of this unkind treatment, he was obliged, one night, to ride, attended by only one Hottentot, through a desert part of the country, which was a place of rendezvous for run-away slaves, who committed frequent depredations and murders on travellers.

town, new obstacles impeded the progress of the mission. The hostility of the farmers rose in proportion to the eagerness, with which the Hottentots attended to the gospel. The cause of this hostility must be sought for in that worldly principle, which generally influences men in their opposition to the gospel, while they are more intent upon their temporal gain, than solicitous to obtain eternal riches. They conceived their temporal interest to be threatened by the removal of so many Hottentots to BAVIAN'S KLOOF, especially as some had declared, that they would no longer work for the farmers, but go to the missionaries to be instructed in christianity. Irritated by this, the colonists used every artifice to prevent the instruction of the Hottentots; endeavouring, at first, to alienate their affections from their teachers by the grossest misrepresentations; and, when this failed, by disseminating the foulest calumnies against the Brethren. They reported, that they taught the Hottentots to steal, to murder, and commit other enormities; they even went so far as to declare: "If the Moravians come here to convert the Hottentots, they ought immediately to be put to death." When they could not obtain their end, either by force or artifice, they brought various, but unfounded, complaints against them before government. The chief of these complaints was, that the Hottentots at BAVIAN'S KLOOF kept more cattle, than could be fed on the land of the settlement.

Baas Teunis, who of late had evinced symptoms of an unfavourable change in his disposition towards the mission, came to BAVIAN'S KLOOF on December 7th 1795, and, having ordered all those Hottentots, who had come from a distance, to appear before him, commanded them in the name of the Commissary, to drive back their cattle to their former place of abode, and only retain such a number in the settlement, as was necessary for immediate consumption. He at the same time informed the missionaries, that they must receive no Hottentot, who had served a farmer, into the settlement, unless he brought a certificate from his master, that the term of his servitude had expired. This order, in fact, amounted to a prohibition to receive *any* Hottentots, for very few farmers

would be willing to give them such a certificate. Besides it contradicted his former declaration, that they were not bound to inquire of any Hottentot, whether he had eloped from his master, or not, for government had ordered, that no Hottentots should be forcibly detained, who wished to go to BAVIAN'S KLOOF. The Hottentots, however, were not hasty, in obeying this order, though they were threatened with having their cattle taken from them. Their only reply was, "should this be the case, yet we will not go away, for we have come hither for the purpose of hearing the word of God."

Not to neglect any thing on their part, which might tend to avert the impending ruin of the mission, brother Marsveld, and likewise several Hottentots, went to Cape-town in January 1795, for the purpose of appealing to government, and of obtaining, if possible, a revocation of this order. But their endeavours were not only ineffectual; but they had the additional mortification to find, that Baas Teunis had himself been the principal promoter of the above measure. This threw our brethren into the greatest consternation; but they were speedily relieved from their perplexity by the kind interposition of some friends. In February they received a visit from Mr. Clude of Constantia and some other gentlemen. They inquired minutely into all the circumstances of the settlement; and, on their return to Cape-town, succeeded in convincing the members of the government, of the falsehood of the complaints made by the farmers, as the land at BAVIAN'S KLOOF could maintain at least five hundred oxen. The result was, that the order for the removal of the Hottentots was soon after revoked. Mr. Clude besides purchased a piece of ground adjoining the settlement, chiefly (as he said) with a view to the safety of the mission, its former possessor being a decided enemy.

Amidst these external troubles the progress of the mission, as to its principal object, pleasingly demonstrated, that "when the Lord will work, none can let it." The preaching of the gospel was not only attended by numerous hearers, but displayed its power in convincing them of sin and the necessity of a Saviour. Many Hottentots

called upon the missionaries, to disclose the feelings of their souls, and seek comfort and advice.

The schools, both for the adults and children, continued with little intermission; and the number of scholars increased so fast, that it in a short time amounted to two hundred; which rendered it necessary to keep it, for the most part in the open air, under the shade of the large pear-tree, mentioned before. Their teachers considered themselves amply rewarded by the eagerness, with which the Hottentots attended to the instruction they received; and the Lord laid a particular blessing upon their catechization, in the doctrines of Scripture.

In February 1794, an epidemical bilious disorder prevailed in the country. Twenty-two Hottentots, residing in or near BAVIAN'S KLOOF died in consequence of it. In visiting the patients, the missionaries witnessed in several instances, the converting and saving power of the gospel.

Notwithstanding the impediments, which their adversaries threw in the way of those Hottentots, who manifested a desire to be instructed, their number was constantly increasing. Many came from a considerable distance, bringing their families and their cattle with them, and would not be denied permission to stay in the settlement. Others, being terrified by the calumnies widely circulated by the farmers, first paid a visit to BAVIAN'S KLOOF, to see and hear for themselves; and being soon convinced of the untruth of the evil reports, propagated respecting the Brethren, returned home to fetch their wives and children, and were generally accompanied by others, who likewise desired to be instructed. In removing from their former abodes, they were sometimes obliged to make no small sacrifices, and to encounter difficulties and even dangers. A Hottentot, whose term of service with a farmer had expired, setting out for BAVIAN'S KLOOF, was pursued by three armed men, sent by the farmer, who threatened to shoot him, and forced him to return and serve another year. Others scarce ventured to ask for their wages, and were obliged to leave their cattle, to get away. Another Hottentot, finding his master determined

to retain him, addressed him thus: "If Baas, (master) will answer for my soul, then I will stay." The conscience of the farmer was touched, and he replied, "I cannot answer for my own soul, much less for that of another." Hereupon he not only dismissed him from his service, but even gave him a certificate.

The eagerness of the Hottentots to hear the gospel rapidly increased the number of inhabitants at BAVIAN'S KLOOF; yet the missionaries did not act precipitately in admitting them to the privileges of christian communion; wishing first to discover in the catechumens abiding evidences of repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus. And this accounts for the comparatively small number of their congregation, which at the close of 1798, consisted only of sixty-five members.

BAVIAN'S KLOOF was frequently visited by the colonists and other persons, who sometimes arrived in large parties. On the one hand, these visits were attended with no small inconvenience and expense. The rights of hospitality, universally introduced in the whole country, often obliged the missionaries to entertain numerous guests, and hindered them in the prosecution of their proper calling. On the other hand, however, they served to diffuse a more correct and just idea of the principles and conduct of the Brethren, and to falsify the calumnies circulated respecting them. By this means, the missionaries likewise became acquainted, and united in brotherly love, with many sincere christians and servants of God, who took a cordial interest in their work, and rejoiced in its pleasing progress.

The tranquillity, enjoyed at BAVIAN'S KLOOF, did not last long. The animosity of some of the farmers against the mission was again excited, and assumed a more menacing appearance; and very alarming reports were spread through the country. In June 1795 intelligence was brought, that a company of farmers, or colonists, from Strangfield, intended to march to BAVIAN'S KLOOF, to take the missionaries and send them to Batavia, as the surest way of reducing the Hottentots to their former state. This

exceedingly terrified these poor people, and they expressed their astonishment at the composure of their teachers; but being reminded, that no evil could befall them without the will of God, their courage was, in some measure, revived.

Soon, however, the aspect of things became more serious. The Cape was threatened with an attack from the English, and the interior of the country was in a state of open rebellion. On June 13, orders were issued for the immediate appearance at Cape-town of all Hottentots, fit to bear arms. Those residing at BAVIAN'S KLOOF shewed some reluctance till reminded by their teachers, that it was their duty to obey the command of government. Upon this they set off without delay, and had already left the settlement, when Baas Teunis sent a written order to that effect. From him our Brethren received the first authentic intelligence of the attack on Cape-town, and, what more nearly concerned themselves, of the rebellion of the colonists in the interior.

The rebels, who called themselves *Nationals*, had already deposed the landdrost and secretary at Schwellendam. Many colonists, who would not join them, had fled to Cape-town, being no longer safe in their own places of abode. On the 24th of June the missionaries were informed, that the rebels, though they had retreated to a short distance, were determined to destroy BAVIAN'S KLOOF, and had even declared, that this should be the first of their operations; uttering the most dreadful threats against the Hottentots residing there. The governor, considering it his imperious duty to defend Cape-town against the English, summoned the colonists to assist in its defence, promising afterwards to inquire into their grievances. But the Nationals refused to listen to any pacific overtures, being resolved to advance to the Sand-river, within six miles of the town, and there to treat with government.

In July reports of the advance of the rebels towards BAVIAN'S KLOOF became more frequent and terrifying. The Hottentots assembled round the mission-house, ex-

claiming: "O that they would but spare our teachers!" Some declared, that if their teachers fled, they would go with them; but if they resolved to stay, they also would remain and die with them. But, seeing many of them exceedingly terrified, the missionaries told them, that each individual must act according to his own inclination, without being influenced by others. Some fled that very night into the mountains.

On the 17th brother Kuehnel went to Baas Teunis to obtain more correct information of the state of things. Here he learnt, that the rebels were exceedingly enraged at the school for the Hottentots, as by their removal to BAVIAN'S KLOOF, the farmers could get no labourers to work for them. Baas Teunis, therefore, advised, that those Hottentots, who had come from the vicinity of Schwellendam, should return thither. The state of things rendering this advice very plausible, the missionaries resolved to discontinue the school, and desire their scholars to return to their former residences. This measure, dictated by imperious necessity, excited very painful feelings, both in teachers and scholars. The latter surrounded the mission-house, bursting into loud lamentations; and the former could not behold, without pity, one company after the other leave the settlement; and that too at the most inclement season of the year, when all the rivers were greatly swollen, and in some parts of the country scarcely fordable. Among them were many children, and mothers, with their infants tied naked on their backs.

A few days after, a troop of Nationals coming into their neighbourhood, the missionaries received some further intelligence of the intentions of the rebels respecting them and their labours. A proclamation, issued by them, among others, contained the following resolutions:

"We will not permit any Moravians to live here and instruct the Hottentots; for as there are many christians, who receive no instruction, it is not proper that the Hottentots should be taught; but they must remain in the same state they were before.

"Hottentots, born on the estate of a farmer, must live

there and serve him till they are twenty-five years old, before they receive any wages.

“ The Hottentots must reside among the farmers, and not live together in one place, as at BAVIAN’S KLOOF.

“ All Bosjemans, or wild Hottentots, caught by us, must remain slaves for life.

“ The Moravians were never meant to be employed among the Hottentots of this country, but among the Bosjemans.”

These and many other resolutions were passed by the insurgents, in the name of liberty and equality. They declared themselves independent of the Dutch Company, and determined to oppose the English, who were then besieging Cape-town. To this proclamation they had obtained nearly three thousand signatures, compelling many to affix their names, without allowing them time to read it.

The missionaries still spent eight days in anxious suspense, uncertain what turn affairs would take, till at length two of their friends arrived with them on the 29th of July, informing them, that they had been sent by Pissani, the leader of the rebels, ordering them to quit BAVIAN’S KLOOF within three days, and remove, either to Cape-town, or some place inhabited by Dutch colonists, on pain of suffering severely in case of refusal. The two gentlemen added, “ They knew not the cause of this strange and oppressive order, but that they had been commanded to deliver it; and that Pissani was marching at the head of eight hundred men behind the mountains towards Rodesand, intending to proceed to Cape-town.

Not knowing what to resolve upon, brother Kuehnelt went that very night to Bass Teunis to consult him. He gave it as his opinion, that there was no choice left them, but to obey the order, observing, “ that violence was substituted for justice, and that he was himself liable to share a similar fate.” He promised to send a waggon the next morning to fetch their things, and preserve them as safe as his own.

The intelligence of the removal of the missionaries soon reached the ears of the Hottentots, who still remained in

the settlement. The feelings of these good-natured people may more easily be conceived than described. Many of them declared, they would go and die with their teachers, adding, "we are the cause of all the misfortunes which befall them, for we have not been sufficiently thankful and obedient; and therefore God takes our teachers from us. O God, forgive us this sin!" In the evening they all assembled before the mission-house. One of the brethren addressed them in a short discourse, but was frequently interrupted by the loud weeping of the Hottentots. In fervent prayer he supplicated the Lord to arise for their help and defend his own cause. And deliverance was indeed much nearer than they expected.

July 31st they left BAVIAN'S KLOOF, and reached Cape-town on the 3rd of August. When they informed the commissary of what had happened, he indeed justified their flight, but expressed his indignation at the insolence of Pissani, who was the ringleader of only a small party of rebels, who had separated from the main body of the Nationals*. One of the chiefs of the latter, having requested an interview with the missionaries, declared: "We do not acknowledge Pissani to be a chief among us. We are continually reproached with having expelled you from BAVIAN'S KLOOF, and yet we are wholly ignorant of it. This very morning we have had a consultation respecting your mission, and I am charged to convey letters concerning you to the landdrost of Schwellendam, and can assure you, upon my honour, that, if you will but return, no injury shall be done to you." Encouraged by this conversation, they once more waited upon the commissary, to ask his advice. He gave it as his opinion, that they might safely return the next day; and as some of their friends were ready to set out for the country on the 8th of August, they availed themselves of this favourable opportunity to leave Cape-town, where they had been de-

* Pissani was afterwards arrested at Cape-town, together with his Adjutant and Secretary. At the very time he was expelling the missionaries, he said, in a public company: "These people preach sound doctrine, and teach the Hottentots the right way of salvation: but, as I am the devil's servant, and cannot be saved, I will do all in my power to prevent the Hottentots from going to heaven."

tained a far shorter time, than their fears, at first, led them to expect.

The very day, on which they commenced their return, intelligence was received at Cape-town, that the British had engaged the Dutch at *Meuse-bay*, and that the latter were in great want of reinforcements. The drums beat, the war-flag was hoisted at the citadel, all the men flew to arms, and the women retired into the country. The troops left the town, and the citizens mounted guard. The consternation, excited by these events, was fortunately soon allayed; for, after a short resistance, the Dutch surrendered. Several Hottentots, belonging to BAVIAN'S KLOOF, were in the engagement; but not one of them was killed. Their conduct, while in the army, was consistent with their christian profession; and they met every morning and evening, for prayer and singing. Their families had been meanwhile provided for at the expense of government.

In the midst of the confusion and terror, occasioned by this warlike state of the country, our missionaries pursued their journey without molestation; which was the more remarkable, as all the horses, oxen and waggons were put in requisition: but they were not once stopped on the road, though they and their friends were travelling with three waggons. Under the mighty protection of God they arrived, in a few days, at BAVIAN'S KLOOF, to the inexpressible joy of the Hottentots, re-commenced their worship on Sunday, August 16th; and towards the end of October, likewise began their school again, which had been suspended since the middle of July.

Notwithstanding the distress, occasioned by the hostility of the farmers, and the political events at the Cape, God prospered the labour of his servants, and gave them many proofs, that he favoured their undertaking. Amidst external troubles the word of the Lord grew mightily, and displayed its awakening and converting power. Of a number of similar instances the following may here be related: a man called upon the missionaries and told them, that he was in constant heaviness and terror, and

did not know what to do, for he could neither eat nor sleep for distress of mind. Being asked, why he had not come sooner, he replied: "I have hated the missionaries, and despised their doctrine, and often felt disposed to curse them and run out of the chapel. I was particularly provoked at your doctrine, that whoever did not apply to the Lord Jesus, as in themselves helpless and perishing sinners, relying on Him alone for salvation, were in danger of being eternally lost; and that self-righteousness was a detestable sin in the sight of God." In a while he added: "I have lived with christians, who told me, that my salvation depended on my own good conduct, and I was considered an exemplary character among my own nation; whereas I have known many of those, who are now baptized, formerly lead very profligate lives. I therefore wished you had never come hither to torment me; but, when in one of your late sermons, you exhorted those, who thought themselves better than others, to examine themselves, whether they loved the Lord with all their heart and strength, and their neighbour as themselves, I was thunder-struck, and said to my wife: 'I am lost for ever, I shall go down to hell.'"

As soon as tranquillity was restored, brother Marsveld repaired to Cape-town, and waited on the English general Clarke and major-general Craig, recommending the mission to their protection. Both these gentlemen received him with politeness, and dismissed him with the assurance of their favour and protection, encouraging him and his brethren to continue their exertions for the instruction of the Hottentots.

Encouraged by these assurances, and by active proofs of the benevolence of the British government, our missionaries prosecuted their labours with renewed zeal, and witnessed, almost daily, that the blessing of God rested on their endeavours. Many Hottentots settled at BAYAN'S KLOOF, some coming from a distance of a hundred miles; their scholars diligently improved the means of instruction, their worship was attended by large auditories, and even during the year 1795, so memorable on account of the troubles which distinguished it, and

which at one time threatened the overthrow of the mission, twenty adults were added to the church by baptism. Before the close of the year they commenced the building of a new chapel, and finished it the following March, the English general having given them permission to cut the necessary timber for the building.

Not long after they again experienced the watchful care of Providence and the protection of government. In February 1796, some malicious persons had collected a force of a hundred men, and fixed their rendezvous at a gentleman's house in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of effecting the ruin of the mission by one decisive blow. Government, having received timely notice of the plot, sent an order to Baas Teunis, to prevent the meditated outrage, at the same time informing him, that any acts of hostility, committed against the Hottentots, should be punished according to the utmost rigour of the law. The adversaries, finding their designs betrayed, and government prepared to defeat them, quitted their leader and dispersed.

By degrees the farmers began to change their sentiments, both with regard to the regulations made by the British government, for protecting the Hottentots against oppression, and with regard to the mission. They began to discern the justice of the former measure and its beneficial effects, even as it respected themselves. Their attempts to destroy the settlement having been defeated, they conspired to starve the missionaries, by withholding the needful supplies of provisions; and for a short time they greatly harassed our brethren, by refusing to sell them any flour. However, it was not long before they brought waggon-loads of flour to the settlement, offering it for sale at a reduced price, and that at a time when it was rather scarce. Most of them were convinced, that the instruction of the Hottentots was advantageous to them in a temporal point of view, and therefore, when hiring servants, always gave the preference to christian Hottentots.

One circumstance, however, still caused our missionaries

much trouble and vexation. Long established usage had nearly changed wrong into right. It had been the custom, whenever a new colonist arrived, to allow him, on paying an annual tax to government, to take possession of any tract of land, he might choose, and to expel the Hottentots, who had hitherto occupied it. These people, long accustomed to oppressions of this kind, and naturally of a roving disposition, made no complaints, especially as there was an extensive and uninhabited country before them. But, with regard to the christian Hottentots, the case was altered. To them it was of great importance to live near their teachers, and as their number was constantly increasing, every encroachment on their land was a most serious injury. And being accustomed to let their cattle range at large, they often trespassed on the adjoining grounds of farmers. This, as it had often done before, occasioned disputes between them and a neighbouring colonist in 1796. After much trouble and many consultations, the missionaries, at length, succeeded in having the boundaries of their settlement legally fixed, and in lieu of a tract of land, which had been taken from them, another piece of ground was given to the Hottentots; though they were forced to be satisfied with a hilly and barren district, instead of the fruitful pastures, they had formerly occupied.

The rapid progress of the mission requiring an increase of labourers, brother Kohrhammer and his wife, arrived there in May 1798. This addition to the missionary family rendered the enlargement of their habitation necessary. For this purpose they converted the chapel into dwelling-rooms, and erected a large church, capable of accommodating fifteen hundred hearers. The foundation was laid on the 8th of January 1799, and it was solemnly opened for divine worship on the same day, in the following year. At that time there were in the district of BAVIAN'S KLOOF 228 Hottentot houses; some of them, however, stood at the distance of one or two miles from the mission-house. The number of inhabitants amounted to 1234, of whom 304 were members of the congregation, 84 of them having been baptized within the year.

After the arrival of brother Kohrhammer, an application was made to them by government, to commence a mission among the Bosjemans. Desirous of complying with this request as far as lay in their power, brother Schwinn repaired to Cape-town in December 1799, where he was ordered to await the arrival of one of the colonists, who had offered to be his conductor. This man, however, did not come, and brother Schwinn, after waiting for him above a week beyond the appointed time, deemed it unnecessary to put government to any further expense. Though the scheme was thus abandoned, it has been mentioned here as being a rather singular occurrence, for the application originated with the savages themselves. In their treaty with the English government, for the purpose of terminating the long and bloody contests between them and the colonists, the Bosjemans had made this a condition of peace, that they should be provided with teachers, such as those, who instructed the *tame* Hottentots in BAVIAN'S KLOOF. History probably furnishes few parallels, if any, of a savage people, in treaty with a christian power, making it one of the conditions of that treaty, to have missionaries sent to instruct them in christianity*.

About this time, several circumstances combined to facilitate the labour of our brethren. The protection they enjoyed from government tended to lessen the animosity of the farmers; and the blessing, which rested on the labours of the Rev. Mr. Vos, the parish-minister of Rodesand, increased the veneration of many colonists for religion. Great numbers of them attended divine service at BAVIAN'S KLOOF, and that from better motives than mere curiosity. The formation of the South African Missionary Society in Cape-town, and the arrival

* The application was not renewed to our brethren; but the London Missionary Society has since sent missionaries to this tribe. When intimation was given to the Bosjemans, often called Bushmen, that teachers would be sent to them, the intelligence circulated so widely, and was so well received, that five hundred were collected at *Vanderwalts Fountain*, eagerly waiting the arrival of the missionary. Mr. Smit, Mr. Read and Mr. Corner are now labouring among them, and appearances are promising. Miss. Regist. Vol. iii. p. 145. Vol. iv. p. 315. Vol. v. p. 233.

of several missionaries from Great Britain and Holland, some of whom visited the Brethren's settlement, served to diffuse greater piety through the country, and to increase the respect entertained for the Brethren's mission.

In 1799, the new governor, general Dundas, paid a visit to BAVIAN'S KLOOF, and, besides other proofs of his benevolence, evinced his favourable disposition towards the Brethren, by requesting brother Kuehnelt to accompany him on a journey to the borders of Caffraria, conceiving, that one of the missionaries, on account of the general respect entertained for them, would be a useful auxiliary in quelling the insurrectionary spirit among the Caffres and Hottentots, which was beginning to manifest itself in rather an alarming degree. This expedition, however, was afterwards relinquished.

The temporal condition of the Hottentots in BAVIAN'S KLOOF, was by degrees considerably ameliorated. Induced by the example and advice of the missionaries, they attended more to the cultivation of their gardens and orchards and the tillage of their fields. The produce of their corn-fields was, in some years, twenty-fold. This, added to the supply they received from their gardens and orchards, and from the breeding of swine, which they found far more profitable than sheep, so increased their means of subsistence, that very few were driven to the necessity of living on wild roots. This increase of worldly substance excited them to take a voluntary and liberal share in defraying the expenses of lighting the chapel, and in occasional repairs.

On occasion of the arrival of a company of missionaries in 1800, the christian Hottentots manifested their joy in the liveliest manner. Being apprized of their arrival, a large party of them in waggons and on horseback, together with four hundred on foot, went to the river *Sonderend*, about one mile from the settlement, to meet them. When the travellers had crossed the river, the Hottentots ranged themselves in regular rows, and with up lifted hands gave thanks to God for their safe arrival, joining

with one voice in solemn hymns of praise. The scene was so affecting to the missionaries, that they could not refrain from giving free vent to their tears. The nearer they approached the settlement, the more did the number of those, who came to meet them, increase; and in the evening their spacious chapel was crowded with Hottentots, uniting in solemn ascriptions of glory to God, for having sent them teachers to instruct them in his holy word.

Among the new missionaries was brother Christ. Lewis Rose, who had formerly resided in Labrador, and was now appointed to superintend the mission among the Hottentots. His services, as well as those of his fellow missionaries, were soon called for. In July, 1800, an epidemical bilious fever prevailed in the settlement, and continued for a whole year, carrying off numbers.

The missionaries had daily to visit fifty or sixty patients, and in November, when the epidemic was at its height, the number of deaths in a week amounted to six, eight, and even ten; and once no less than four died in one day. In consequence of this disease, fifty-nine members of the congregation finished their pilgrimage on earth. This afflictive dispensation was felt the more severely, as the farmers, to avoid infection, were unwilling to employ any Hottentots, and even sent those, whom they had hired, back to BAVIAN'S KLOOF, as soon as they shewed the least symptoms of illness. The poor people, being thus deprived of the means of earning a livelihood, were reduced to the greatest want and poverty; and some of those, who were sent home by the farmers, died on the road. Brother Rose writes concerning this season of affliction:

“In order to be more regular in our attendance on the sick, we engaged in this duty by rotation, each missionary and his wife visiting a certain district every week. In doing this we had to make a round of four or five miles. These visits were attended with not a little danger to ourselves, as the fever was very infectious. Through the mercy of God, however, none of us were seriously

affected by it. In performing this duty, grief and joy alternately possessed our hearts. When we crept into their huts, and saw the poor people lie there in the greatest misery, upon nothing but a sheep-skin, spread on the bare ground, without medical aid, and often without a morsel to eat, and the convalescent tormented by hunger, while a number of poor, naked children were crying for food; we were overwhelmed with sorrow. We indeed exerted ourselves to the utmost of our power to procure them nourishment, and the most necessary medicine; but our resources, especially of the latter, were soon exhausted, the number of those, who needed relief, being too great; for scarce a cottage was without patients, and in some three, four, and even more persons were confined at once, and some, after recovering the first attack, were seized a second and even a third time; in which case the disease mostly proved fatal. Then again, when, on discoursing with them on the love of Jesus, and setting before them the comforts of the gospel, we saw them listen with eagerness to our address, forget all their external wretchedness, and patiently resign themselves to the will of the Lord, declaring their confident hope, that he would in mercy receive them into his everlasting kingdom, and extolling his goodness in sending teachers to them, to instruct them in the knowledge of their Redeemer, and of salvation through his blood; when we saw and heard all this, we were so greatly strengthened and encouraged in the performance of our duty, that we forgot pain and sorrow, and our hearts overflowed with thanksgivings to God."

Other difficulties were experienced by our brethren during this year. An order had been issued by government, that all the corn, grown in the country, above a certain stipulated quantity for the consumption of the inhabitants, should be conveyed to Cape-town; and no one was permitted to buy, or sell, corn without a special licence. This threw the Hottentots at BAVIAN'S KLOOF into great distress; and obliged them to seek service with the farmers. But even in this they could not always succeed, as some farmers had barely a sufficiency of provisions for themselves. Many Hottentots, therefore, were

necessitated to roam through the woods, where they lived on acorns, wild almonds and various kinds of roots. Their consequent long absence from the means of grace and regular instruction, had an injurious influence on their conduct. Some fell into sin, and the missionaries were under the painful necessity of exercising church-discipline towards some individuals.

But their temporary depression, occasioned by these circumstances, was relieved by the many proofs they received, that their "labour was not in vain in the Lord." The report of BAVIAN'S KLOOF spread far and wide, reaching even to the confines of Caffraria, and exciting among the Hottentots of that district an ardent desire to be instructed. Besides others, a whole family arrived from those parts in BAVIAN'S KLOOF, in January 1801, having spent six weeks on the journey. Another party, consisting of twenty-three persons, arrived in June from a remote part of the country; and a man and his wife from the land of the Boesjemans; and soon after a woman and her family, from another district. Being asked, what were her reasons for coming, she replied, "I am come, because I know, that BAVIAN'S KLOOF is an asylum for poor, distressed sinners: such a sinner I am. I have long lived in sin, and done much evil; and among the farmers, with whom I have been in service, I have seen and heard nothing else: but now I am tired of the service of sin, and seek rest for my soul." The members of the congregation also were increasing in grace and knowledge; and of their own accord associated together in small companies, to converse on the things belonging to their peace, and to join in prayer. For this purpose they used to walk into the fields and woods, between the hours of divine service on the Lord's-day; and often did the hills and dales resound with praises to God and their Redeemer for the mercy he had shewn them *.

After the restoration of peace, the territory of the Cape of Good Hope, was again ceded to the Dutch. The new

* A more circumstantial history of the Hottentot mission, during this period, may be read in the Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 159—272; and in the diaries from that mission, inserted in the Per. Acct. Vol. i. and ii.

governor, General Jansen, and the commissary M. de Mist, on every occasion, evinced their benevolence towards the brethren and their establishment. By desire of the governor the name of the settlement was changed from BAVIAN'S KLOOF into GNADENTHAL*, by which name it will be called in the subsequent part of this sketch. By their kind interference also, further encroachments of the colonists on the land, belonging to the settlement, were in a great measure prevented, and the Hottentots recovered a fine piece of cultivated land, which had been unjustly taken from them by the farmers. Both the governor and the commissary visited the settlement, expressed their entire approbation of all they saw and heard, and commended the exertions of our brethren.

The confidence reposed in them by government, was soon after manifested in a very pleasing manner. Having raised a corps of Hottentots, governor Jansen, with the approbation of all the other members of government, requested, that one of the missionaries would accept the office of chaplain to the camp, reside in the camp, and instruct the Hottentots in christianity, promising that he should be provided with a house, and receive a salary from government. This unexpected proposal, though grateful to them, as evincing the benevolence of the governor, yet threw them into no small perplexity, as their labours at GNADENTHAL required the united exertions of them all. But, considering that it was a principal part of their calling to preach the gospel wherever the Lord should open them a door, they consented to the proposal, on condition, that the missionary should be at liberty to regulate his pastoral labours according to the practice of the Brethren's church.

This being readily acceded to, brother Kohrhammer and his wife, at the end of August 1804, went to the camp, which was situated at the Vineyards, near Cape-town. Divine service was performed every Sunday in the open

† Bavian's Kloof signifies Baboon's Glen, a name given it from the great number of baboons, which frequented that valley: Gnadenthal means Grace-valle, a very appropriate name, considering the change wrought by divine grace on the inhabitants.

air, a tent being erected for the preacher, the officers and their ladies, and several other strangers; the Hottentot corps standing before it in military order. He also kept school with the children, held meetings on week days with all who desired instruction, and visited the hospital. Many appeared impressed with the truths of the gospel; though most of them had hitherto been ignorant heathen. The commandant declared his particular satisfaction, that, on receiving their pay, in September, not one of them had been imprisoned for drunkenness, a vice to which they had formerly been very much addicted on those occasions. Their stay in the camp, however, did not last many weeks, as the corps was ordered to advance nearer to the coast. Brother Kohrhammer, therefore, received a regular discharge from his misnisterial service in the camp, with expressions of their entire approbation, both from the governor and the commander.

The sudden removal of the camp was occasioned by the arrival of a large English fleet at the island of St. Helena. The intelligence of this caused general alarm, and the people were every where employed in conveying their goods to a place of safety. The Hottentot battalion broke up on the 1st of October, except a guard appointed for the protection of the missionary and his wife, who were detained till the 10th before they could find an opportunity of returning to GNADENTHAL, all the waggon-gons having been put in requisition.

Government, desirous of making every possible preparation for the defence of the colony, had sometime before sent captain Lesueur to GNADENTHAL to enlist a volunteer-corps of Hottentots. These now received orders to repair immediately to Cape-town, government promising meanwhile to provide for their families. Towards the end of October thirty men marched to Cape-town to join the army, and ten to Soete Melks Valley, being appointed for the service of the powder-magazines. Their places were soon after occupied by a hundred and eighty-seven women and children, belonging to the Hottentot corps; governor Jansen having requested an asylum for them in GNADENTHAL, while their husbands were in the

army. For that time the danger, apprehended from the British fleet, passed over, and the colony was in some measure restored to its former tranquillity.

The continuance of the war, however, rendered it necessary to be in a constant state of preparation to oppose any hostile attack, that might be made on the colony. For this purpose the Hottentot corps was again encamped at the vineyards, and brother Kohrhammer resumed his services among them. He and his wife remained in the camp from May, 1805, to January following. In the performance of his ministerial duties he again met with the support and countenance of the governor and all the officers, and often experienced that his "labour was not in vain in the Lord," many of the soldiers applying to him for comfort, advice, and instruction in christianity. The only circumstance of note, distinguishing his services at this time, was his attendance on three deserters, who had been condemned by a court martial to suffer death. July the 19th the governor sent a waggon to fetch him to Cape-town. On his arrival he was conducted to the prison, and spent above eight hours with the criminals. At first they appeared quite insensible and indifferent about the salvation of their souls. By degrees, however, the Lord was pleased to open their hearts, and to grant them peace with God through faith in his name, after suffering for a while the fears of a guilty conscience, and the terrors of death and damnation. When he entered the prison the next morning, the officers on guard expressed their astonishment, declaring, that they had never expected to see such behaviour in heathen. They had spent the whole night in prayer and singing hymns, and in repeating to one another what the missionary had told them. They were accompanied by brother Kohrhammer to the place of execution. Two of them were shot, and the third hung. All three testified, that they were delivered from the fear of death, and died in reliance on the atonement of Jesus, and humble hope of eternal life through him.

Early in January, 1806, the Cape was attacked by the British forces, under the command of General Baird, and

after a short resistance, Cape-town surrendered. General Jansen at first retreated into the interior with part of the Dutch army, with a view to oppose the English, but shortly after accepted the terms of capitulation, proposed by Sir David Baird.

During the scene of terror and confusion, which attended the landing of the English, and the engagement that ensued, brother Kohrhammer and his wife experienced no little anxiety, being left in the camp with only a lieutenant, a corporal and six privates, besides some sick soldiers. The night after the battle they were roused from sleep by a loud rap at the door, their servant calling out: "Get up immediately; there is a terrible host of people descending from the mountains, and they are certainly English." They instantly rose, placed two lighted candles on the table and set the door wide open. In a little while five hundred armed men arrived, entered every hut, and took all prisoners whom they found in them. "A corporal and a private," writes the missionary, "came into our cottage. I bade them good evening in English; upon which the corporal shook hands with me. Having informed him, who we were, he said: 'That is well; I know something of your people;' adding, 'the Cape has surrendered to the English; you are now British subjects and our friends. As you were not afraid, but kept your door open to receive us, we consider you as an honest man, and you have nothing to fear.' After taking some refreshment he retired, and others entered, whom we supplied with victuals as long as we had any left." After spending another anxious day in the camp, the missionaries retired to a friend's house in the neighbourhood and, at length, on the 12th of February, arrived in safety with their brethren at GNADENTHAL.

The quiet of this settlement likewise was interrupted for a short time. Early on Sunday, the 5th of January, they were alarmed by the report of the signal-gun, announcing the approach of an enemy. The missionaries immediately convened those Hottentots, who had volunteered for military services, reminding them of their duty

as loyal subjects. In consequence of this, ten set off in a few hours, and fifty-four followed in the evening. Three of them returned in a few days, having been taken prisoners by the English, and being unwilling to enlist with their troops, were sent home, furnished with proper passports. For a short time all communication with the lower country was cut off, as general Jansen was occupying the hills with a strong military force. Dearthness of provisions in the sequel obliged many of the inhabitants to remove to other places. Seventy-five men were in the Hottentot battalion, raised by the British, and most of their relatives had followed them to the camp, so that by the end of the year the number of inhabitants amounted only to eight hundred, having suffered a reduction of three hundred and seventeen. Notwithstanding these various troubles, "the word of the Lord had free course and was glorified." One hundred and seven new people came to GNADENTHAL, and fifty were admitted to holy baptism.

The mission enjoyed the favour and protection of the new government. Sir David Baird and many English officers and gentlemen visited the settlement, demonstrating their regard for the missionaries, not only by commending their labours, but by proofs of active benevolence. On the arrival of Brother Bonatz, in May 1806, the governor made an exception in favour of him and his wife, suffering them to land and proceed to the place of their destination, while no other person was permitted to leave the ship. Lord Caledon, who, in 1807, succeeded to the government of the Cape, manifested equal benevolence towards the mission.

At his request they began, in 1808, to form a second settlement. For this purpose he offered a piece of land, hitherto belonging to government, called GRUENEKLOOF, (Green glen) and lying near the sea, on the high road from Cape-town to Saldanha-bay. The missionaries J. P. Kohrhammer and J. H. Schmitt, and their wives, moved thither in March, inhabiting the house hitherto occupied by a farmer, who, as the term of his lease was expired, now surrendered it to our Brethren. Immediately on

their arrival several Hottentots came to bid them welcome. The next day the missionaries went to the Hottentot captain, Klapmus, requesting him to convene his people, that they might inform them of their intention in coming to settle here. In a short time about one hundred persons, young and old, assembled. Having conducted them to the shady declivity of a hill, brother Kohrhammer addressed them in a short discourse, to which they listened with great apparent devotion, and afterwards expressed their thanks in a lively manner. They were then told, that it was desirable, that those, who were disposed to hear the word of God and live in conformity to it, should place their huts near their teacher's dwelling. To this they agreed; and in order to accommodate those, who asked leave to reside on the land of the settlement, the missionaries measured off eighteen lots of ground for huts and gardens. They were so laid out, that the cottages would stand in two parallel lines inclosing the garden grounds.

Our brethren soon experienced, that the power of God attended their testimony of Christ crucified, exciting conviction of sin and a desire after salvation in many of their hearers, who, with few exceptions, had hitherto lived in the abominations of heathenism. One of them said, "Wherever I am I cannot get rid of the thought, that all is not right with me. When at work with other men, who are conversing on subjects, which I formerly delighted to hear, I am like a deaf man; I cannot bear to hear them, but must go alone into the wood and cry to God for mercy; then I feel somewhat comforted." Another remarked: "I am sitting in the midst of my sins, like a man sitting in the fire, and am ready to be choked and consumed by the anguish of my soul; I stretch my arms towards heaven and cry, Lord Jesus, give me but one drop of thy grace, to quench the burning fire within." A man, called Saul, expressed his desire to hear the word of God, and his attachment to the brethren by relating a conversation, he had lately had with his baas, (or master,) to the following effect: "My baas asked me, 'Will you also go to the teachers at GRUENEKLOOF?' I answered, 'yes, baas.' He replied, 'what will you hear there?'"

said, ' God's word, and how I may be saved.' ' God's word?' replied the baas, ' that I will read to you, if you will stay with me.' ' Nay, baas,' said I, ' that I do not believe; for I have been with you and your brothers till I am grown old, and have never heard one of you pray to God, or read his word, and now, when teachers are come to us, you will begin; nay, baas, that I cannot believe, and therefore shall go with my wife to the teachers at GRUENEKLOOF." Addressing the missionary, he added: " yes, where you are, there will I be; if you go to the Caffre land, Saul will go with you; if you go to your own country, I will sell my oxen and waggon and follow you; and if you ask, why I will do so, I answer, because you tell me of a Saviour, and that does my heart good."

At the end of 1808, after the missionaries had resided there three quarters of a year, one hundred and one Hottentots lived on the land of the new settlement, of whom one had been baptized, and nine were under instruction for that holy rite.

In their temporal concerns too, the Hottentots displayed more and more of the christian character. They went diligently to work in building their huts, and cultivating their grounds. God blessed the labour of their hands; and as a proof of their gratitude to him, and their love to their teachers, they presented them with some Spanish melons, water melons and other fruits, as the first produce of their gardens. Not a year before those very grounds, which now bore a plentiful crop, had lain waste, and been covered with brush-wood.

Amidst the pleasure felt by our brethren at the success, attending their endeavours, they were not without their troubles; the most serious of which originated in the revolt of the slaves in Hottentot Holland. About three hundred of them had risen in one night, with a determination to fire Cape-town, murder all the white men and carry the women into slavery. They had actually taken and bound several of their masters, carried off waggons, horses, and arms, and committed various other depredations. But, by the blessing of God on the prompt exer-

tions of government, most of the rebels, and among them the ring-leaders, were taken and thus their wicked design was frustrated. The scene of confusion lying near GRUENEKLOOF, our brethren there were more exposed, than those residing in GNADENTHAL, who did not hear of it till the danger was over.

Among those of their converts, who entered into rest during the year 1808, our brethren in particular mention Jacob Adams, who was a true Bosjeman, but had resided some years in GNADENTHAL, and was supposed to have reached the age of a hundred years, when he died. They remark concerning him: "he had indeed found mercy and rest unto his soul with Jesus; and both by his walk and conversation edified all who knew him. In short, we have had in him an incontrovertible proof, that the Holy Spirit instructs God's children in all the essential truths, revealed in his sacred word, in the most distinct and powerful manner, though the ordinary means may be very deficient. For Jacob Adams had never learnt Dutch, and all his conversations with us were through an interpreter."

In this and subsequent years, both the settlements received an accession of inhabitants from other heathen nations, besides Hottentots. The first of them were seven Caffre families, and one from the Tambukky nation. Negroes also frequently attended their worship, several of whom were Mahomedans. One of them, after having attended a meeting in GNADENTHAL, said to a Hottentot: "What I have seen and heard this day at your church, I shall never forget. Were I not a slave, I would leave all and move hither. O ye Hottentots, you are most fortunate to be thus favoured. If you do not make good use of it, you can never prosper." A few years later some individuals of the Dambra, or Dambarra nation settled in GRUENEKLOOF, and became obedient to the gospel. This nation dwells behind the great Namaqua, at a distance of seventeen hundred miles from Cape-town. Thus widely had the news of the arrival of christian teachers been diffused through the country, gradually preparing, in this land also, for the accomplishment of

God's gracious promise, "I will bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth."

A valuable present of Dutch bibles and testaments, sent in 1810 by the British and Foreign Bible Society, was most thankfully received by the missionaries, and served as a new encouragement to their scholars to apply themselves with diligence to learn to read. Those, to whom a book was given, received it with tears of gratitude, imploring the Lord abundantly to bless the venerable society for this act of kindness. Similar feelings of joy and gratitude have been expressed by the Hottentots, both young and old, whenever receiving a repetition of the society's bounty.

In 1811 the missionary family in GRUENKLOOF was thrown into great distress, in consequence of a very serious accident, which befel brother Schmitt. Wolves having for some time done much mischief in the settlement, they resolved to adopt the usual practice of destroying them, by fixing a day for a general hunt. On August the 6th in the morning the brethren Bonat and Schmitt, with about thirty Hottentots, commenced the hunt. At no great distance from the settlement they discovered a wolf, and fired at him, but being only slightly wounded, he made his escape. After a fruitless search the missionaries relinquished the pursuit, and were returning, leaving the Hottentots at a short distance. One of the Hottentots, supposing he had discovered the wolf in a thicket, called to the missionaries. Brother Schmitt hastened back, dismounted, and, with some Hottentots, entered the bushes. When they had reached the middle of the thicket, the dog started some animal, but the closeness of the bushes prevented them from seeing what it was. Those, standing without, observing it to be a tiger*, ran away, leaving the missionary and one Hottentot alone. Not knowing which way to get out, and afraid of coming directly upon the tiger, they proceeded slowly, with their

* The tigers in this country are inferior to those in Bengal, both in size and strength. They are rather larger than the largest Newfoundland dogs, and very nimble and fierce.

guns pointed, to be ready for an immediate attack. On a sudden the animal sprang upon the Hottentot, pulled him down, and began to bite his face. Brother Schmitt instantly aimed his gun at the tiger; but as the Hottentot lay upon him, he could not take effectual aim. The animal perceiving it, let go the Hottentot and made a spring at the missionary. His gun being of no use, at such close quarters, he threw it down, and holding up his arm to defend his face, the tiger seized it close to the elbow. Brother Schmitt, however, was still able, with the same hand, to lay hold of the tiger's fore feet, and seizing him, with the other, by the throat, to throw him down. He then knelt on his body, and cried out for help to the Hottentots, who instantly ran to his assistance. One of them, laying his piece close under the arm of the missionary, shot the animal through the heart; and thus rescued brother Schmitt from immediate and imminent danger. His wife and brethren, however, were not at once relieved from their fears on his account. He had eight wounds from the elbow to the wrist, and in some places the teeth of the tiger had penetrated to the bone; and as the teeth and claws of a tiger are shaped like those of a cat, they had not only wounded, but lacerated the arm. The inflammation spread in an alarming degree, and induced serious apprehensions of a fever. Medical advice and aid, therefore, were as soon as possible procured from Cape-town. Doctor Cairns stayed with them three days before he could pronounce the patient out of danger. Through the mercy of God, and to the astonishment of all his friends, he gradually recovered, though he appears never fully to have regained the same degree of health, he enjoyed before.

Doctor Cairns likewise attended the Hottentot, who, though severely wounded, did not suffer so much bodily pain as the missionary. This was the third encounter he had had with a tiger, and must in all probability have lost his life, if brother Schmitt had not exposed his own to save his.

The formation of a Bible and School Commission at Cape-town, in 1813, was an event in which our brethren

took a very lively and cordial interest. Having explained the nature of this institution to their congregations, they made collections for it in both the settlements, and had the pleasure to find, that the Hottentots were disposed to contribute to its support even beyond their ability. The Rev. Robert Jones, colonial chaplain, being deputed by the School-Commission to make a tour through the country, for the purpose of assisting in the formation of schools on the plan of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, paid also a visit to GNADENTHAL, and expressed his satisfaction at the school established there, but objected to its being kept in the church; and being informed that the missionaries had not the means of building a school-house, he immediately set a subscription on foot, and, by his zealous exertions, in a short time procured upwards of 1400 rix dollars; to which several handsome donations were added in the sequel. He put down his own name for 100 rix dollars; the governor, Sir J. Francis Craddock presented 200 rix dollars, his Lady the same sum; the Bible and School Commission, and the Fund of the Lutheran church, each 100 rix dollars. The foundation of this building was laid on the 11th of February 1814, and the school opened, in a solemn manner on the 15th of July following. Both parents and children testified their joy and gratitude in a very affecting and lively manner. The day before, an examination had been held with all the scholars, both boys and girls, amounting to 243. The teachers remark: "to hear these Hottentot children read so well, was truly encouraging to us. Some of them are beginning to write a good hand." It may here be added, that sister Schmitt in GRUENEKLOOF, and sister Leitner in GNADENTHAL were instructing the girls in needle-work; some of whom were learning satten-stitch, which they executed with great neatness, and were thus able to earn a livelihood for themselves.

Fostered by the favour and protection of government, and richly experiencing the blessing of God, the mission continued to enjoy, as it had done for several preceding years, external quiet and prosperity, and internal growth by the advance of the converts in grace and divine knowledge. The inhabitants in both places were yearly in-

creased by new comers, and the congregations augmented by such, as on sincerely embracing the gospel, were added to the church by holy baptism. In GRUENEKLOOF, which was more recently formed and the smaller of the two settlements, the annual increase of inhabitants averaged about twenty, and that of the baptized adults, fifteen. In GNADENTHAL, which was of longer standing and greater extent, the numbers in either case were considerably larger. In some years this settlement received from sixty to eighty, and in one year even one hundred and thirty new inhabitants; and from forty to sixty adult heathen were yearly admitted to baptism.

The most grateful circumstance, attending this increase, was, that nearly all those, who were admitted into the settlement, or advanced in church-privileges, manifested a sincere desire, not only to have the name of christians, but to give all diligence to make their calling and election sure. Many of them indeed appeared to have previously been prepared, by the Spirit of God himself, for their admission to the church of Christ; as the declarations they made to the missionaries abundantly testified. One of them said: "God has led me in a marvellous way from the lower country to this place. I happened to hear about BAVIAN'S KLOOF from some travelling Hottentots, who told me, that teachers were come across the great waters to the Hottentots, and described to them a great person, who came down from heaven, and would bring us after death into a pleasant place, and not into the black kloof, of which we had heard such terrible accounts. From that time I thought day and night, how I should make my way to BAVIAN'S KLOOF, but could not find the way till God led me hither." Another related, "that when she was a young girl, her father once called his children together, and addressed them in the following manner: 'My children, what your father says, is truth. You are Hottentots, and despised of men; but continue to behave well, for I have an assurance, that God will one day send teachers to our nation from a distant land. I am old, and probably shall not see that day; but you are young, and will see with your eyes, what I have now told you. As soon, therefore, as you hear that such people have

when they get to GNADENTHAL, and hear the word of God, truly receive grace and mercy and become quite another sort of people. I was born a christian, and instructed in religion from my childhood; I possess a bible, and frequently read in it; and yet find all this wanting in me." Philip made for answer, that, though he could not read himself, yet he had retained in his memory much of what he had heard read; and then related the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, applying it, in a very apposite manner, to the colonists and the Hottentots. The farmer was much affected, and said, "I never understood these things as I now hear you explain them." Philip then asked him, how often he had been at the Lord's Supper. The master replied, "only once in my life; for I feel myself unworthy of it." Philip rejoined: "my baas, suffer me to advise you. Seek to know Jesus as your Saviour; surrender your heart to him, and go the next time to the Lord's Table; for there we receive heavenly food for our souls, and divine life to support our feeble faith; and in the bread and wine we enjoy spiritually his body broken for us, and his blood shed for the remission of our sins." The farmer followed his advice, and found himself greatly comforted and blessed. Philip, being prevented by illness from finishing some work this farmer had given him to do, returned in some time to make an apology and ask pardon for his apparent neglect. His master, making no reply, the Hottentot repeated his excuses. Hereupon the farmer said: "I was not angry with you, Philip; I was only considering what I should do for you, and now I give you twelve measures of corn, just as much as I should have given you, if you had finished your job; for I acknowledge you to be my teacher, and have to thank you for the great good I have enjoyed; therefore I owe you much more than I now give you." The Hottentot replied: "No, baas, you must not talk so to me; for it might appear, as if you were not converted to God, but to me; and consequently made me a god. If I thought so, I would stay in my poor hut at GNADENTHAL, and never come hither again. But, if you will give the corn out of charity to a needy Hottentot, I will accept of it with many thanks, and do another job for you instead of the former."

ing proofs, that the good Shepherd was seeking his lost sheep, to bring them back to the fold. A person of this class, belonging to GNADENTHAL, once made the following confession: "O how have I sinned in the sight of God and man. I had once given my heart to the Lord, and renounced the devil and all his works; and I was sincere at that time. But, alas, I have trodden the grace of God under foot, have forsaken Jesus and his people, and for many years strayed in the wilderness. I now repent with my whole heart, and thank our Saviour, that he has again brought me to this place, like a poor worried sheep that had lost the flock. O that all young people would consider how easy it is to stray; but not so easy to regain what we have lost." Another apostate made a similar confession: "the pain," said she, "occasioned by forsaking the congregation, after having once been a member of it, I have severely experienced. I went away; but had scarcely executed my resolution, when my distress became so great, that I could neither eat nor drink; I often went into the field, fell upon my knees, and entreated the Lord, that he would bring me back. But the farmer, with whom I was engaged, would not consent to my going. At length my time expired, my heart became light, and I returned to GNADENTHAL full of joy; but was told I could not remain here without my husband. I prayed to God: 'O Lord, thou knowest I cannot depart, though I and my children should starve to death at the gate.' He heard my prayer; my husband soon followed me; and since then the Lord hath done great things for us. May he preserve us in his grace to the end of our lives!"

The attainments of the christian Hottentots in scripture knowledge, and their consistent conduct, tended greatly to lessen the animosity of the farmers, and even to awaken in some of them a serious concern for their own salvation. Many instances of this are related by the missionaries in their reports; of which the following is one of the most interesting: A farmer, who had hired a christian Hottentot, called Philip, once entered into conversation with him, remarking among the rest: "I am not a little surprised, to see how the wretched, drunken Hottentots,

pied above two months. They finally fixed on a tract of land, lying on the *Witte River*, on the confines of *Caf-fraria*, at the distance of a fortnight's journey from *GNADENTHAL*, as the most eligible place for a missionary settlement.

In this and all other transactions with government, brother Latrobe experienced repeated proofs of the benevolence of the governor, Lord Charles Somerset, the colonial secretary, Mr. Alexander, and other gentlemen connected with the government. They evinced the most favourable disposition towards the mission, and a readiness to promote its prosperity and extension in every possible way.

Before his return to Europe, he assisted at the establishment of a regular police in *GNADENTHAL*. This measure originated with the inhabitants themselves, and was rendered necessary by the increasing disorders, committed by strangers, and some of their own young people, as well as by slaves and persons dismissed from the settlement, and even some so called christians. It was on many accounts impossible for the missionaries to take sufficient cognizance of these disorders, and they therefore agreed the more readily to the proposal. Having consulted the landdrost, and obtained his approbation and the promise of his assistance whenever needed; fifty-four men, chiefly fathers of families, residing in different parts of the settlement, were chosen for overseers of the place. All the inhabitants were then informed of this regulation, and, the rules of the place, drawn up by brother Latrobe, together with the letter from the landdrost, having been read to them, were admonished cheerfully to conform to these rules, being intended for their own good and the welfare of their families, that the gospel and the work of God in the settlement might be honoured, and not disgraced by the lives and conversation of its inhabitants.

Having returned to *GRUENEKLOOF*, brother Latrobe had the pleasure of being present at the laying of the foundation of their new church, on the 31st of August 1816. Hitherto divine worship had been performed in

the hall of the mission-house; but the increase of their congregation and auditories rendered this no longer practicable.

Towards the end of October he took his final departure from Africa, in the Zebra sloop of war, and arrived at Spithead on the 10th of December, after a very pleasant and expeditious voyage of only six weeks and four days under sail. According to the testimony of our brethren, repeatedly expressed in their reports, his visit was of essential benefit to the mission, and served to animate those employed in it, to proceed in their labour, which may truly be called the work of God, with increasing zeal and diligence, and, while feeling their own insufficiency, depend on the blessing of God, which has hitherto abundantly crowned their exertions.

On the 1st of December the settlement of GNADENTHAL was visited by a dreadful calamity, of which the missionaries give the following account:

“A dreadful torrent descended upon us from the mountains, and overwhelmed great part of our premises with destructive violence. It had rained without ceasing the day before, though not faster than it often does here; but on the 1st of December the rains increased in an alarming degree, and continued without intermission till the following morning. Our three brooks, coming out of the Bavian's Kloof, Siebenvonteyn valley, and Kornland's kloof, swelled to a prodigious height, carrying with them trees and large stones, and threatening general desolation. The noise of the waters and rolling stones was terrific, especially in the Bavian's Kloof, close behind our dwellings. In the kloof or glen itself, which is of considerable width, and through which the brook commonly winds in a gentle stream, all the bushy and rocky eminences were completely covered, and the whole glen becoming too narrow for the impetuous torrent, it tore away large parts of the rocks and earth on each side, with all the trees planted up the slopes. The dyke, forming the mill-course, was in the most imminent danger of being burst and carried away, as close to its foundation large holes were made in the ground by the water. The flood now

rushed with astonishing violence out of the opening of the glen, and meeting on the left with resistance from the projecting rocks, the whole mass of water fell upon a dyke made many years ago at the expense of Government, of which there was still a part remaining, and carried off that and the greater part of the grove of keri and poplar trees, planted by the missionaries, together with the gardens of the brethren P. Leitner and Beinbrech. From hence it turned, for a short space, into the old bed of the Bavian's revier, but soon spread and burst through the middle of the adjoining ground. Here it met the torrent rushing down from Siebenvonteyn, and uniting itself with that stream, inundated the whole valley down to the river Sonderend, destroying all the Hottentots' grounds and gardens in its course. The high foot-bridge leading from the main part of the settlement to the Caffre kraal, at least fifteen feet above the level of the brook in dry weather, was covered and carried away, and the place filled with stones and sand. To the right, behind the burying-ground, the small brook descending from the Kornland's kloof, precipitated itself with equal violence towards and into the settlement, covering the land with sand and stones. Thus most of the gardens, which promised a good crop, were buried under sand, and some wholly demolished, the flood passing through them. The violence of the rains had already thoroughly soaked the walls of many of the Hottentots' houses, which threatened to fall upon the inhabitants, and as the rain rather increased than diminished towards night, the poor people quitted them, and sought safety on our premises, and in houses on higher ground. We opened for them both the church and the school-house, and rendered them otherwise all the assistance in our power. Two men lost their lives."

" From the 9th to the 12th, men, women, and children, were busily employed to lead the Bavian's Revier into its old channel. This proved a very difficult undertaking, partly for want of proper tools, and partly because many of the Hottentots were at work with the farmers. The brook was indeed brought to flow within its former bed, but the banks were but imperfectly secured, and the main work must be left till after the harvest. During the work

we were pleased to see such willingness and diligence, as are not always met with among the people, and not at all natural to the Hottentot nation; and when we spoke with them of the damage done to their grounds, they replied, that they had more cause to thank the Lord for His mercy, that notwithstanding their great demerit, they had been chastised with so much lenity."

With a view to strengthen the hands of the missionaries in South Africa, brother Hallbeck and his wife, the brethren J. F. Hoffman and Gottfried Horning, and sister A. L. Wuensche, sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, in September 1817, and arrived there before the end of the year. The brethren Hoffman and Horning, in conjunction with brother and sister Schmitt of GRUENEKLOOF, were appointed to begin the new settlement on the WITTE RIVIER; and brother Hallbeck to be president of the committee, which had been formed during brother Latrobe's visit, for the superintendence of the South African mission.

By the end of the just mentioned year, twenty-five years had elapsed since the renewal of the mission among the Hottentots. During this period the brethren Rose, Kohrhammer, Kuehnel and Schvinn have entered into the joy of their Lord, leaving behind them the testimony of having endured hardness as good soldiers of Christ; especially the two latter, who as well as their yet surviving companion, brother Marsveld, will always be respected as fathers of this mission, having laboured in it from its very commencement, and at a time when difficulties and dangers were assailing them on every side. During the same period, upwards of fourteen hundred Hottentots, Caffres, and other heathen, have been baptized*.

The preceding sketch supplies abundant evidence of the benign influence of the gospel on the minds of the Hottentots, in making them children of God by faith in Christ

* More detailed accounts of the latter part of the history of this mission, may be found in *Periodical Accounts* vol. iii. to vol. vi.

Jesus and in rendering them, in their degree, useful members of society, so as to supersede the necessity of any additional remarks. A very concise description of the two settlements shall, therefore, close this chapter.

GRUENEKLOOF has a fine situation north of Table-bay and below Table mountain, about 40 miles from Cape-town. The tract of land belonging to the mission contains also *Laweskraal* and another Hottentot village. Near the premises of the missionaries are two rows of Hottentot houses, some built with stones or unburnt bricks, with gardens adjoining each. At the end of 1815 it contained 290 inhabitants.

GNADENTHAL lies in a valley, formerly called Bavian's Kloof. By repeated grants from government, the land now in the possession of the Brethren, contains about four thousand acres. It is surrounded by high mountains, watered by the river Sonderend and several smaller streams. When the missionaries arrived, it was a barren, uncultivated tract, but by their industry, and the blessing of God upon their labours, they have changed it into a fruitful field, exciting the admiration of all visitors. The large church, with the adjoining school-house and the dwelling of the missionaries, and other buildings, stand by themselves, shaded by large trees. Behind the premises lies an extensive garden, well stocked with different kinds of fruit-trees, besides vegetables in luxuriant abundance. From the garden a broad path, inclosed by rows of trees, leads to the burying ground, which is surrounded by a hedge of roses.

Besides laying out fields in different parts of the valley, formerly considered unfit for culture, they have planted the slopes and glens with poplars, oaks, and various sorts of trees, and inclosed a plot of ground for a vineyard, stocked with two thousand vines.

As early as 1796 they built a smith's shop for the manufacture of knives, different kinds of cutlery, ploughs, &c. In this they employ Hottentots, who are regularly paid. Since then they have likewise erected a carpenter's

shop. A water-mill, built in 1797, not only enables them to grind all the corn requisite for their own consumption and that of their Hottentots, but also to serve many of the neighbouring colonists. By thus setting their converts an example of industry, they have gradually weaned them from their naturally indolent disposition, and made them sensible of the comforts of civilized life. The consequence has been, that most of the inhabitants of the settlement have now as comfortable dwellings, and as good gardens and fields, as many of the peasants. There are but few among the very poorest, who still dress in sheep skins and live in huts, the far greater part are decently clothed, and their houses built either with unburnt bricks, or wattlings, plaistered with clay, with a door and window and a thatched roof.

In 1816 the settlement contained 252 houses and cottages, some built in rows, others standing irregularly here and there through the valley, which is two or three miles in length. Each cottage having a garden, the whole glen has the appearance of an extensive orchard; and in fruitful seasons, the produce of peaches, pears, and different other fruits, is very considerable. The number of inhabitants, at the close of 1816 amounted to one thousand two hundred and seventy seven.

CHAP. VII.

MISSION IN RUSSIAN ASIA.

IN 1764 the empress of Russia, Catharine the great, issued an edict in favour of the Brethren, and at the same time signified her wish that they would form a settlement on the banks of the Wolga. A general synod of the Brethren's church being that year assembled at Marienborn, a resolution was taken to accept this gracious offer of her imperial majesty. The synod was the more readily disposed to engage in this undertaking, as it induced the hope, that an opportunity might thus be afforded for propagating the gospel in the East, especially among those pagan tribes, who inhabit the confines of Russia and Tartary.

The following year, therefore, five brethren went from Germany to St. Petersburg; and then proceeded to the banks of the Wolga. Having taken possession of a suitable tract of land, they began, with the assistance of some Russians, to erect the necessary buildings, to cultivate the land, and work at their trades. To this place they gave the name of SAREPTA. It furnishes a strong proof of their courage, and still more of God's protection, that five defenceless persons, with only a few Cossaks, given them now and then as a guard, resided a whole year in this desert, without suffering the slightest injury, though travellers were frequently robbed in these parts, and many thousand Calmucs were encamped in their immediate neighbourhood.

SAREPTA lies near Czarizin, about two thousand miles from Petersburg, on the high road leading to Persia and the East Indies by way of Astrachan. The arrival of several companies of brethren and sisters, in subsequent years, not only increased the number of inhabitants, but in a short period rendered it a very flourishing place. Its si-

tuation on a rivulet, called Sarpa, near its confluence into the Wolga, led to the erection of mills; and the fertility of the soil amply rewarded their industry in agriculture, and occasioned the building of a small village, called *Schoenbrunn*, near the settlement, for the accommodation of those families, who were employed in farming and horticulture. The discovery of a mineral spring, at the distance of about five English miles from the boundaries of SAREPTA, proved an additional source of prosperity. Joachim Wier, M. D. the practising physician in the settlement, having analyzed the water of this spring, and found it beneficial in various diseases, submitted a dissertation on it to the imperial college of physicians, which met with their entire approbation. SAREPTA in consequence received a great many visitors who stayed a longer or shorter time, either in the settlement or at the spa, for the use of the water. In some years the number of patients amounted to two or three hundred, among whom were persons of different nations and of high rank, governors of provinces, generals and even princes with their retinues. This concourse of visitors, the subsequent arrival of several German colonists of the Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Roman Catholic communions, who erected villages on the banks of the Wolga, and its situation on the high road, greatly promoted the commercial interests of the place; so that it is now a very flourishing settlement, enjoying the countenance and protection of the Russian Government and exciting the admiration of travellers; the more so, as it lies in the midst of a vast and nearly uninhabited territory.

The establishment of a flourishing colony, however, was not the primary object the Brethren had in view, when building SAREPTA. They never considered their intention, in erecting this settlement, would be fully attained, unless it should be the means of facilitating their endeavours to propagate the gospel among the heathen, and serve as a place of rendezvous to those brethren and sisters, who might feel disposed to devote themselves to this important service in the East. In order to effect this, they endeavoured to form an acquaintance with the *Calmucs* in their neighbourhood, and to cultivate their friendship.

The Calmucs lead a pastoral life, roving from place to place, in quest of pasturage for their numerous flocks of sheep, cows, horses, and camels; for they never till the ground nor build any villages, but reside in moveable tents, called *Kibitke*. They are divided into four *hordes* or clans, viz. the *Kohots*, *Soongars*, *Derbets*, and *Torgots*; and though they are subject to the crown of Russia, are allowed to regulate their internal government, both civil and ecclesiastical, according to established usage, and to choose their own sovereign, besides whom they have many hereditary lords, or princes. Their religion is rank polytheism. They venerate one supreme Being; but besides him, believe in a great many inferior gods, who, according to their ideas, govern the world in rotation. They likewise pay divine honour to many thousand deified heroes, called *Burchans*, whose number is yearly augmented by the deaths of holy persons. Those, who are ambitious to obtain this honour, must be well versed in their sacred writings, repeat many prayers, avoid the killing of any creature, be charitable to the poor and perform other good works. None but the priests can lay claim to this distinction after death, and on this account they are treated with very great respect. They are of different ranks; some being called *gellons* and others *lamas*. To the latter they pay almost divine honours. The *Dalai Lama*, or grand Lama of Tibet, is the high priest, or the head of their whole superstition. He is said never to die; and they are continually invoking his name. The common people know of no other means of salvation, but by the prayers of their priests, which they purchase with rich offerings. They believe in the transmigration of the soul: whoever, therefore, dies in an unholy state, has to pass through several stages for his purification, before he can indulge the hope of finally becoming a *burchan*. Their temples are nothing else than moveable tents, hung with very costly silk tapestry, superbly decorated with gold, silver and precious stones, and ornamented with the most grotesque representations of their idols. In many of their religious opinions and rites they bear a strong resemblance to the Roman Catholics. For instance, in the use of the rosary in prayer, the celibacy of the clergy, the observance of fasts, the meritoriousness of

good works, the masses for the dead, &c. Their sacred books contain many sound principles and moral instructions; but mixed with most ridiculous stories. Many passages appear to have been borrowed from the christian doctrines, but greatly distorted to suit their own superstitious notions. Our brethren frequently detected them in endeavours so to interpret the history, doctrine, and miracles of Christ, as to make them coincide with their own legends and absurd mythology*.

On either side of the Wolga are extensive uninhabited plains, called *Steppes*, overgrown with very long grass. In these Steppes numerous hordes of Calmucs annually pitch their tents, for a longer or shorter period; and as many of them often fixed themselves near SAREPTA, our brethren soon formed an acquaintance with them. They expressed much pleasure at the building of the settlement, frequently attended divine service with marks of respect and devotion, and behaved with great civility. At first they occasioned some trouble, by pitching their tents on the land, belonging to SAREPTA; but their princes, or *chans*, interfered, ordered justice to be done to the Brethren, whenever they had sustained any damage, and issued a public mandate for regulating the conduct of their subjects, with respect to the land appertaining to the settlement.

The physician in SAREPTA soon got many patients. Among these was a prince of the Derbet horde, who, during the winter of 1767, encamped with his whole retinue on the Brethren's land. On his removal, in the following spring, he invited two brethren, who had frequently visited him, to accompany the horde, promising them his friendship and protection, and every assistance in his power for learning the language. They readily accepted this proposal, and cheerfully submitted to all the inconveniencies of this novel mode of life, living in tents and moving with the horde from place to place. Every one treated them with kindness, not excepting the priests,

* Brethren's History, Vol. i. p. 608, Ibid. Vol. ii. p. 140, Per. Acct. Vol. i. p. 105. Ibid. Vol. ii. p. 196.

who permitted them to be present at their religious exercises, and raised no objections against their preaching the gospel to the Calmucs*. However, as no benefit appeared to result from this scheme, the Brethren relinquished their wanderings with the horde, and confined their endeavours to instruct them in the truths of christianity, to frequent visits among those who resided in the neighbourhood, and to friendly conversations with them when they came into the settlement; which was the case almost daily. But, though the Calmucs listened with apparent pleasure to their discourse, the impression made upon their minds was fleeting and evanescent.

While the inhabitants of SAREPTA were still concerting measures, and using every exertion, which their limited means allowed, for the instruction of the Calmucs and other pagan nations in that part of Asia, an event occurred, which threatened the entire destruction of the settlement. A very powerful party of insurgents, headed by the celebrated Pugatschef, which had for some time spread terror and devastation over several provinces of the Russian empire, in the summer of 1774 over-ran the government of Astrachan, and took the town of Saratof. A small party of Russian soldiers, sent to oppose the rebels, was completely routed at Praleika, not more than sixty miles from SAREPTA. Some fugitives brought the first intelligence of this to the settlement on the 28th August. The commandant of Czarizin at the same time informed our Brethren, that it was out of his power to protect SAREPTA, and advised immediate flight, as the only mode of safety left to the inhabitants. In consequence of this communication all the sisters and children, and many of the brethren fled that night, in two parties, the one sailing down the river Wolga and the other travelling by land. Both companies, after enduring many hardships and dangers, reached Astrachan in safety on the 7th of September. Sixty five brethren still remained in the settlement, in order to secure their most valuable property, and see what turn affairs would take. In the evening of September 1st, they received

* Per. Acct. Vol. i. p. 105—107.

the dreadful intelligence of the approach of the rebels. As soon, therefore, as the sun was set, they likewise betook themselves to flight, and on the 9th arrived at Ianaitefka. There they received the joyful tidings of the discomfiture of the insurgents by colonel Michelson, a few miles behind SAREPTA. In a few days all the fugitives returned, filled with gratitude to God, that not an individual had lost his life, or fallen into the hands of the enemy. Through the active benevolence of the Brethren's congregations in Europe, the damage done in the settlement, and the losses sustained by the inhabitants, were gradually repaired; and, by the divine blessing on their own industry, SAREPTA soon resumed its former flourishing appearance*.

Amidst their external prosperity, our Brethren did not lose sight of what they had always considered as the primary object of their establishment in this country, and to the furtherance of which they had repeatedly and solemnly pledged themselves: the propagation of the gospel among their heathen neighbours. The distresses and trials to which they had been exposed, during the rebellion, and the divine protection and help they had experienced, rather tended to unite them more closely in brotherly love, and qualify them for renewed and zealous co-operation in the cause of God. For several years, however, their labours still continued unproductive. They indeed embraced every opportunity for renewing their acquaintance with the Calmucs and other pagans; but as yet the gospel found no entrance among them. It however served to revive their hope, when a blind Calmuc girl, who was given to the Brethren and educated at SAREPTA, gave pleasing evidence of true conversion, and received holy baptism on January 6th, 1781. A few years after she died in confident reliance on the atonement of Christ †.

Their ever wakeful zeal to extend, by every means in their power, the kingdom of Christ, joined to repeated invitations to form settlements in Georgia and

* Brethren's History, Vol. ii. p. 149.

† Ibid. p. 335.

Gruisina, induced the brethren Godfry Grabsch and George Gruhl, towards the close of the just mentioned year, to undertake a journey to mount Caucasus. Prior to this, the former of them had resided some months in Astrachan, for the purpose of acquiring a competent knowledge of the Tartar language. To this city he and his companion repaired in November 1781. On their arrival they waited on the governor, who readily furnished them with the requisite passports for their journey. Early in December they went to Kislär, where they were detained till the 28th February 1782, waiting for a convenient opportunity to proceed. Passing through several Tartar villages, they reached *Beregu* on the 7th of March. The inhabitants being strict Mahomedans, our travellers found great difficulty in procuring a lodging, till at length a man, out of courtesy to their guide, opened his house to them for the night. They soon announced their arrival to Uzmei-Chan, the sovereign of that country, who happened to be in Beregu, and to whom they had letters of recommendation. At first they met with considerable opposition. Uzmei-Chan seemed unwilling to believe the account brother Grabsch gave of himself and his friend, and of the object of their journey; but being at length satisfied of its truth, he took them with him in his retinue, consisting of several Tartar princes, to his residence at *Bashlu*; and on the next day, being the 12th of March, sent them forward to *Kubasha*, providing them with a guide, to conduct them to his friend *Mahmud*. This man received them with great kindness, and allotted them an apartment in the fifth story of his house.

One principal object of this journey being to ascertain, as far as possible, whether the report, that the inhabitants of *Kubasha* were descendants of the ancient Bohemian Brethren, was supported by any credible historical evidence, brother Grabsch lost no time for making the necessary inquiry. For this purpose he first examined all the public edifices. He discovered the ruins of three churches; and over the door of one of them discerned an inscription, but it was so effaced that nothing remained legible except the number 1215. At no great

distance from these ruins, stood a large stately church, built of hewn stone, and decorated with a profusion of architectural ornaments; but which had been converted into dwellings, five stories high. Brother Grabsch was conducted to the top of this building, and several inscriptions were pointed out to him, but they were graphed in characters, which bore no resemblance to those of any language, with which he was acquainted. His next step was to visit every house, being about five hundred in number, and to inquire into the origin, religion, language and books of the inhabitants. This investigation led to the following results: "they have no more any books written in the characters formerly in use among them; they now use the Arabic, both in writing the Turkish, the Tartar, and their own languages." In a conference with ten men, convened for that purpose, he received from Mahmud, who was the principal speaker, this additional information: "That their ancestors had been christians, but upwards of 300 years ago had adopted the religion of Mahomed, and now they thanked God, that he had directed them into the right way to heaven; that they did not wish to hear any thing about the christian faith, that they could never acknowledge him as a brother, till he turned Mahomedan, and that they hoped his view in coming to *Kubasha*, was not to reform them." Brother Grabsch having, in reply, stated his sentiments, they seemed rather affected, expressed their friendship for him, and Mahmud declared, that whenever he came to *Kubasha*, he would always treat him as his brother. "What!" said Grabsch, "though I do not turn Mussulman." "O, all that goes for nothing!" replied Mahmud.

March 17th brother Grabsch and his companion were safely conducted back to *Bashlu* by Mahmud's servant, and the same day proceeded to *Derbent*, where they were hospitably entertained by an Armenian, to whom they had letters of recommendation from a friend in Kislar. Having received a passport from the governor, in the absence of the *Chan*, they set out on the 19th for *Tiflis*. But Hashi Bek, a man superior to the Chan in riches and influence, ordered them to be arrested and kept prisoners,

till a quantity of silk, confiscated in the Russian territory, was restored. They were, however, permitted to walk about the town, without molestation; and through the interposition of their friend in Kislär they, at length, on the 18th of April, obtained their liberty: three days after they left Derbent, travelling with a caravan. As both the drivers and the inhabitants of the country, through which they passed, were all Mahomedans, they found it extremely difficult to procure even a cup of cold water. Having crossed the river *Samur*, they continued their route in a south easterly direction, between the Caspian Sea and a ridge of lofty mountains. Apprehensions of an attack from the Lesgians, who were returning from a warlike expedition and committing depredations wherever they came, obliged them to take a very circuitous road. In the town of *Samachia*, called *Shirvan* by the Persians, they received information, that, in the neighbouring village of *Wartaschin*, there was a congregation of christians, the supposed descendants of a foreign people; and it was reported, that they came originally from Grusinia, and belonged partly to the Grusinian, and partly to the Armenian church; and, notwithstanding the compulsory means used by the Chan, to induce them to become Mahomedans, had persisted in their attachment to the christian religion. Our brethren exceedingly regretted, that they could not render it practicable to visit these people. During their stay in Shirvan, brother Grabsch found frequent opportunities for preaching Jesus, both to Armenians and Persians, who heard him with pleasure and attention. After a tedious and troublesome journey, they at length reached *Tiflis* on the 26th of June. A more detailed account of their proceedings in this place will probably not be uninteresting to the reader.

The day after their arrival brother Grabsch waited on the Czar (emperor) Heraclius, to whom he had a recommendatory letter from the commandant of Kislär. The Czar being absent, the brethren were, by order of prince George, provided with a good lodging, and entertained at the Czar's expense. Agreeably to his orders, they went, in a few days, to a park, about seven miles from

the town, where he and his retinue were encamped. A separate tent was set up for brother Grabsch; who was soon after admitted to an audience, during which he was seated on a chair close by the Czar, and served with tea and coffee, and during his whole stay in the camp was treated with great kindness. The politeness of the czar went even so far, that, on receiving three boxes of the choicest apricots from prince Chey Kusru, he immediately sent one of the boxes to brother Grabsch.

July 6th the Czar went to Tiflis to use the warm baths, and requested brother Grabsch to attend him. About midnight he sent for him, conversed with him on the object of his journey, and the doctrine and constitution of the Brethren's church, the commandant and prince Paul Andronickof being present. These two noblemen represented the advantage the Brethren would reap, by forming a settlement in the Czar's territory; intimating to Grabsch, that it was expected he would apply, in the name of his brethren, for leave to settle in the country. Brother Grabsch replied, that he was not authorized to make any such request, but would convey any message, with which the Czar might be pleased to honour him, to the bishops and elders of the Brethren's church. Upon this the Czar rose from his seat, and stepping up to the missionary, thus addressed him: "Fedor Twanisch (thus he was called by the Russians) I am informed that the Brethren are an upright and intelligent people; and if I could get five, ten, an hundred, or a thousand of them, to settle in my country, I should give praise to God. That would indeed be a crown upon my head even in hoary age." He further declared, that he would himself write to the directors, grant the Brethren every privilege they could desire, and, if they found their residence in the country unpleasant, send them back at his own expense. In a second audience, he offered to send brother Grabsch and his companion home, by way of Constantinople, under a proper escort; that an answer might be the sooner obtained. They were however obliged to decline this offer. Before they left Tiflis, he gave them a letter, written with his own hand in the Turkish language, to the bishops and elders of the Brethren's church;

and though they were under the necessity of declining his gracious offer, his esteem for them was not thereby lessened *.

The Czar was then sixty-four years old, and wore a long black beard : he had a venerable and mild countenance, and was noted, as much for his humanity, as for his military prowess. His manner of life was very regular, spending most of his time, either in transacting the business of the state, or in religious exercises ; devoting but a few hours to sleep. He had six sons and seven daughters.

Tiflis lies in a valley, wholly encircled by mountains, and is watered by the river *Kur*, which flows through it. When our travellers visited it, it contained about twelve thousand families, the major part of whom were Armenians, and only about one hundred families, Mahomedans. It contained seven Armenian and five Grusinian churches, besides three mosques. The Grusinians, who are the proper inhabitants of the country, and of the Greek church, respected the Lutherans, but the Roman Catholics had rendered themselves odious by their zeal in making proselytes. After spending a month at Tiflis, our travellers found themselves compelled to relinquish their design of visiting the *Tschegemzes*, inhabiting the banks of the *Tschegem*, and supposed to be descended from the ancient Bohemian Brethren. From information received in Tiflis, however, it was pretty evident that this conjecture was unfounded. Having thus, as far as circumstances allowed, executed their commission, they left Tiflis, on the 2d of August, being provided by the Czar with an escort, and every thing necessary for their safety. Travelling by way of Mosdock, Achmet, Kislar and Astrachan, they arrived in SAREPTA on the 16th of September, after an absence of ten months †.

* Gawrila Paulowitsch, major of artillery in the Czar's service, being several years after on a visit in SAREPTA, told our brethren, that the prince had frequently expressed his regret, that he had not paid more respect and attention to the brethren Grabsch and Gruhl, adding, "that he would deem it an honour to be one of the least in their fraternity." Brethren's Hist. Vol. iv. p. 711.

† The reader may find a detailed account of this journey in Per. Acc. Vol. iii. p. 362, &c. and Brethren's History, Vol. ii. p. 335, &c.

Two or three years prior to this journey four brethren in SAREPTA renewed the attempts made by others, who had since fallen asleep in Jesus, to convey the glad tidings of salvation to the Calmucs. As the first and most indispensable step for effecting this purpose, they devoted some hours every day to learn the language, and were joined in this by the Rev. C. Fred. Gregor, then minister of that congregation. The difficulties, they had to encounter, were neither few nor trifling. The only helps they could procure, consisted in a very imperfect vocabulary, compiled by their predecessors; for the priests showed great unwillingness to give any of their sacred books into the hands of persons, who did not esteem them of divine authority. Finding that they could make very little progress without a master, they engaged a Gadsull (a priest of inferior rank,) to be their instructor, who for that purpose attended them some hours every day.

To proceed a step further in their endeavours for introducing the gospel among the Calmucs, brother Neiz, who was the greatest proficient in the language, and likewise possessed some knowledge of medicine, offered to practise in this line among the Calmucs, under the direction of brother Wier, the physician of SAREPTA, conceiving that this would be the likeliest way of cultivating an acquaintance with them. In order to carry this design into effect, a house was taken in the settlement, and provided with every requisite accommodation, to which the Calmucs might resort for medical advice and assistance. He soon obtained an extensive practice, which he faithfully improved, whenever a suitable opportunity offered, for directing their attention to the truths of the gospel; but apparently without any permanent benefit: for though they would sometimes remark, that the doctrines of the bible were important sayings, they resisted the conviction by referring to their own fabulous mythology, which they pretended, not only bore a strong resemblance to the christian system, but was superior to it *.

As our Brethren had hitherto found no entrance among

the adult Calmucs, they directed their attention to the children. In 1801 a Calmuc prince sent his son, called Makush, to SAREPTA, for the purpose of learning the German language; and the following year several other children came to the settlement for the same purpose. With these brother Valen Wendling commenced a school; and though he found it extremely difficult to fix their attention to any subject, yet a good impression appeared to be now and then made on their minds, while he interrogated them on the scripture lessons they were reading. Makush, in particular, gave occasional proofs of serious reflection, if not of an incipient work of the Spirit of God in his soul. Having learned a verse, treating of the necessity of faith, he remarked "that he had prayed to our Saviour, that He would give him faith, and the blessings connected with it; upon which one petition after another had occurred to his mind, so that he found it difficult to give over praying." Another time, after reading the history of our Saviour's temptations, he related, that feeling disposed to absent himself from divine service, he had recollected that this was a temptation of the devil, and prayed our Saviour to deliver him from it. "Now," added he, "I am glad I went to the preaching, and as the subject of temptations was introduced into the sermon, my pleasure was the greater, that I had not followed my own evil inclination." Being once asked, whether he thought it was right to pray for our fellow-men, he replied: "I have often prayed, that our Saviour would lead my mother and relations hither, that they might have an opportunity of hearing how they might be saved; or that he would send a messenger to them with this good news *."

In 1808 the Brethren ransomed four girls of the Kirgese nation, between eleven and twelve years of age, and brought them to SAREPTA. After a residence there of sixteen months, during which time they gave encouraging evidences of a work of the Spirit of God in their souls, they were admitted to holy baptism at Easter 1810 †.

* Per Acct. Vol. iv. p. 216. † Ibid. Vol. v. p. 48.

Two years before the baptism of these girls, the Brethren were encouraged to take another, and most important step towards the attainment of their ultimate object in settling in this country. The Rev. Dr. Steinkoff had addressed several queries to the minister of SAREPTA, relative to the Calmucs, and the practicability of translating the Bible into their language, and circulating it among them; at the same time offering to the Brethren, if they would undertake the work, the most liberal aid from the British and Foreign Bible Society. The queries having been answered to the satisfaction of this excellent institution, the committee placed a sum of money at the disposal of the Brethren in SAREPTA, for the purchase of a set of types of the Calmuc language, (the characters of which amount to one hundred and fifty-two,) and accompanied this grant with the promise of further aid, if the translators proceeded in their labours. Animated by the cheering prospect, thus opened to them, for extending the knowledge of the word of God among their numerous heathen neighbours, the Brethren entered with zeal on the important work of translating the New Testament. Previous correspondence with the British and Foreign Bible Society, the casting of the types, and various other circumstances, for a time retarded the work, so that the manuscript of the gospel of St. Matthew could not be forwarded for printing to Moscow till in the year 1812*.

A translation of the Scriptures into the Calmuc language may justly be regarded as an object of great importance. According to the most authentic information, the Calmucs in the Steppe amount to upwards of sixty thousand souls. Beyond the limits of the Steppe, on the banks of the Wolga, there are about ten thousand of this tribe, who have nominally embraced christianity, and belong to the Greek church. Besides these, sixty-five thousand families, speaking the Calmuc language, migrated from Russia in 1791, and now live under the protection of China. The Calmucs are represented as con-

* The Brethren had previously translated detached parts both of the old and new Testaments; but as they had no version of an entire gospel, the work, had in fact to be commenced afresh.

stituting only one of the three tribes, into which the nation of the *Mongols* is divided, who all employ nearly the same written language, and use the same alphabets. Hence it appears that next to the Turkish, the Calmuc is the language most extensively spoken in Western and Eastern Tartary. And what promised greatly to promote the object of the Bible Society, and of our Brethren in translating and circulating the sacred volume, is, that all the clergy and the higher orders of the Calmucs can read and write*.

The desire of the Brethren in SAREPTA to extend the knowledge of the word of God, having received a fresh impulse by their engagements in translating the Bible; they once more directed their attention to the heathen in their neighbourhood; and being most generously assisted by a grant of 300*l* from the London Missionary Society †, recommenced a regular mission among the Calmucs, directing their endeavours, in the first instance, to the Torgots horde, living at a greater distance from SAREPTA than the Dorpots.

Every preparatory arrangement having been completed, and the two brethren J. Gottfried Schill and Christ. Huebner appointed for this service, they left SAREPTA on the 20th of May 1815. Their journey was long, and attended with great difficulties, some of which they could not have surmounted, if they had not been countenanced by the Russian government, and recommended by prince Galitzin. After passing through several Cossack villages, they arrived on the 29th at the residence of the Calmuc prince, thirty-five versts from Astrachan. They were introduced to him in his Kibitke, or tent, where he was sitting on a rough skin on the ground, barefooted, clad in black horse-fur, and a black silk cap on his head. He ordered chairs for them, but they declined the honour of sitting in his presence. Several dishes of food were set before them, served upon white plates, with silver knives, forks and spoons, much in the European manner. On Sunday they

* Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society 1808 and 1813, and Owen's History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Vol. i. 294—298.

† Twenty second Report of London Missionary Society.

breakfasted with him, and had much conversation. On another occasion they had an opportunity of witnessing their religious worship: twenty gellongs, or priests, were seated in two rows, each having a small bell in his hand; they observed a variety of ceremonies during their prayers; and their dresses were made of rich silks and coloured stuffs. Afterwards the missionaries paid a visit to the Lama in his Kibitke, who received them in a friendly manner, but spoke little. They were then introduced to another prince, who had lost the greater part of his subjects. He and others made many inquiries concerning the christian religion, expressing their surprise at its being so widely spread. With the assistance of this prince, who had engaged to instruct them, they diligently applied themselves to the learning of the language, but found the acquisition of it a very difficult task.

Towards the latter end of July the horde broke up, and removed to another place, where there was plenty of grass; but which in other respects proved exceedingly uncomfortable, being very damp and unhealthy. "Here," say the missionaries "we set up our Kibitke, which was speedily filled with toads, frogs, and other vermin, but we soon became accustomed to them. Provisions are very scarce and dear; milk and butter can scarcely be procured for money; we have no more coffee, and the water is hardly drinkable*."

A few extracts from their journals of 1816 shall conclude this chapter. The 22nd of October they write: "On this and the following day the demand for the gospel of St. Matthew was so great, that we distributed thirty copies. What surprised us most was, that many, to whom we had formerly offered them in vain, now eagerly begged for them. This, as might be expected, excited the jealousy of the gellongs, and especially of an aged priest, who lives in the neighbourhood of Astrachan, and is reputed very learned. He represented to the other gellongs, or priests, that their craft would be endangered, if this book were generally read by the

* *Per. Acct.* Vol. vi. p. 255.

common people. The dread of incurring the displeasure of the gellongs induced many to return their copies; but the alarm soon subsided, and in a few days numbers came, requesting to have the books back again. This, more than any thing, convinced us that they set some value upon the gospel, and gave us reason to hope, that it would not be read in vain by them. A young man, who had received a copy, said, 'the gift of God is freely bestowed in this, for all may learn the way of salvation.' He then began to relate to all who were present, the contents of the gospel. We were astonished to find a Calmuc so well acquainted with the word of God. The testimony he bore to the truth, in the presence of others, induced us to hope that the Lord would, ere long, open the hearts of this nation. It gives us pleasure to perceive, that they begin to be uneasy about themselves, and to inquire what they must do to be saved *."

The Rev. Dr. Paterson, who transmitted the journal, from which the preceding quotation is taken, adds in a letter of October 22nd 1817: "We have intelligence from our brethren of a much later date, from which it appears, that notwithstanding the opposition of the gellongs, the demand for the gospel has been so great that not a copy of those we sent remains undisposed of, and we are now printing a new and much larger edition. The news from other hordes is equally interesting, and the demand for the gospel very urgent. The tract, drawn up by Mr. Schmidt, has been well received and read with avidity. We have heard of several instances of individuals, who have repeated it from beginning to end by heart. A letter, lately received, informs us, that one of the leading men in a horde, near SAREPTA, died professing his faith in Christ alone for salvation. Brother Loos, who was present at the time of his death, had his body decently interred, instead of leaving it to be devoured by the wild beasts, as is usual among them. Surely all these things are encouraging †."

* Dub. Christ. Inst. 1818. p. 41. † Ibidem.

CHAP. VIII.

UNSUCCESSFUL MISSIONS.

HAVING now completed the narrative of the missionary labours of the United Brethren in those countries, where they are still continued; the author had intended, here to conclude his work. On the suggestion of some of his friends, however, he has been induced to add the following concise account of several attempts, made by the Brethren, for propagating the gospel among other heathen nations, but which, from various causes, have finally proved unsuccessful.

1. LAPLAND. Three brethren, who had offered to begin a mission among the Laplanders, left Herrnhut in 1734, and after a residence of some months in Stockholm, arrived the following year at Tornea, from thence travelling through the whole of Swedish Lapland. But finding, that measures had already been adopted for the instruction of the natives, they repaired to that part of the country, which was subject to Russia. In Archangel they formed an acquaintance with some Samojedes, with whom they proposed to travel into their country. But, on applying for a passport, they were suspected of being Swedish spies, and thrown into prison, where they were confined for five weeks, in separate apartments. Hereupon they were sent to Petersburg. On their way, having to cross a lake, the ice broke. Two of the brethren and two of the soldiers, who escorted them, fell into the water; but the third brother succeeded in rescuing them from a watery grave. This kindness on his part won upon the soldiers, who acknowledged his humanity in not leaving them to be drowned, and thus recovering their own liberty by flight. The guard, who at first had treated them very roughly, now behaved with more kindness. After suffering a second confinement for five weeks, they were furnished with a passport to Lubec, and permitted

to return to their own country. (Brethren's History, Vol. i. p. 188.)

A second attempt to propagate the gospel in this country, made in 1741 by the brethren Behr and Ostergreen, proved equally unsuccessful. From Tornea they crossed the mountains to Finmark, conducted by a Laplander, who drove a herd of 500 rein-deer. He brought them to a bay on the Icy Sea, where they were hospitably entertained by a pious old man. After waiting twelve weeks at his house, they procured a boat, in which they sailed 230 miles to Norwegian Lapland. The voyage was extremely perilous. Whenever the wind was high, they were forced to seek shelter among the rocky islands along the coast; and in the open sea they were in danger of having their boat upset by whales. About midsummer 1742, however, they reached an island, belonging to Norwegian Lapland, lying in the 71st degree of north latitude. Here they lodged with the justice of the peace who was a pious man. The minister also showed them much kindness, and offered brother Ostergreen the place of schoolmaster; but his wife opposed it. As in the Norwegian part of Lapland divine worship is performed every sunday, and regular schools established, they considered their service not needed in this country, and therefore left it, after a residence of two years. (Per. Acct. Vol. ii. p. 203—205.)

2. GUINEA. Christian Protten, a converted mulatto from Guinea, who had studied theology at Copenhagen, having become acquainted with count Zinzendorf, offered to go on a mission to his native country. Being joined by brother Henry Hunkaff, they arrived on the coast in 1737. The latter soon after departed this life. The former remained there some time, and, having twice visited Europe, closed his life in 1769. It does not appear, that his endeavours were attended with any success.

Two years prior to his death, application was made to the brethren, by the Guinea Company in Copenhagen, to form a settlement near one of their factories. Having obtained the royal confirmation, brother Jacob Meder, who was appointed minister, and four other brethren ar-

rived at the coast of Guinea in July 1768. But Meder and two of his assistants died before they could begin to form a settlement. As soon as intelligence of this was received in Europe, several brethren offered themselves to go thither. Four of them arrived in 1770, but finished their race before the end of the year. And as the two survivors of the former company also entered into rest, the mission to Guinea was abandoned. (*Brethren's History*, Vol i. p. 223, and 615.)

3. SOUTH CAROLINA. At the request of some of the Trustees of Georgia, the brethren Schulius and Boehler went in 1739 to South Carolina, for the purpose of preaching the gospel to the Negroes. Schulius departed this life the following year; and as other difficulties and impediments were thrown in the way, brother Boehler retired into Pennsylvania, and the undertaking was relinquished. (*Brethren's History*, Vol. i. p. 213, and 229.)

4. ALGIERS. The Dutch Admiral Schryver having desired Count Zinzendorf, to send one of the Brethren to Algiers to minister to the spiritual wants of the christian slaves, Abrah. Ehrenfried Richter went thither in 1739. Though the plague was then raging in the town, he moved into it, visited the slaves in the *banges* (or barracks,) ministered to their temporal necessities, preached the gospel to them, and attended some in the season of sickness and death. From a first attack, which he had of the plague, he recovered, but being infected a second time, he fell a sacrifice to it in July 1740.

He was succeeded in 1749 by brother Charles Nottbek, who remained three years in the town, pursuing the same course of christian philanthropy as his predecessor. He had reason to hope, that his labour was not wholly in vain, as some of the slaves, on obtaining their liberty, became members of one or other of the Brethren's congregations, and finished their race on earth, in the faith and hope of the gospel. (*Brethren's Hist.* Vol. i. p. 242.)

5. CEYLON. In 1740 attempts were made by the

brethren D. Nitschmann junior and Fr. Eller, to instruct the Cingalese in christianity. On their arrival in Columbo, the governor, Mr. Imhoff, gave them a favourable reception, and promoted their journey into the interior of the island. The natives had been cautioned against them as atheists; but, after some conversation with them, they were convinced of the untruth of this accusation, and listened, with pleasure, to their discourse. But, as some of their friends in Columbo began to hold religious meetings, the governor, who had lately succeeded Mr. Imhoff, was prevailed upon to order the missionaries to leave the island. Short as their residence had been, their labours were not wholly without fruit. By their means a surgeon in Ceylon, Christopher Dober by name, was brought to the knowledge of the truth, and in the sequel moved to one of the Brethren's settlements in Europe, bringing a Malabar with him, who received baptism in 1746. (Brethren's History, Vol. i. p. 225, and 314.)

6. PERSIA. A mission to the Gebri, or Gaures*, who inhabit that part of Persia, which borders on Hindostan, had frequently engaged the attention of the Brethren. At length, in the year 1747, two brethren, C. F. W. Hocker and J. Rueffer, left Germany and proceeded to Persia. The one was a physician and the other a surgeon, persons of these professions being considered the most likely to gain admittance and obtain a livelihood in that empire. When they arrived at Aleppo they put themselves under the protection of the English consul, who treated them with great kindness, and used his utmost endeavours to dissuade them from proceeding any farther, on account of the warlike commotions of the country. All indeed, with whom they became acquainted, represented the journey as extremely hazardous; but they were not intimidated, but after a stay at Aleppo of seven weeks, set out for the East on the 24th of August, travelling through the desert with a caravan of 1500 camels.

* The Gaures, are by some supposed to be descendants of the Magi, who visited the infant Saviour at Bethlehem. Matt. ii.

Having on September 6th reached Cowis, a place where the caravan generally divides, one part going to Bassora and the other to Bagdad, they were greatly disappointed, on being informed, that the whole caravan would proceed to Bassora, for their intention was to go to Bagdad. They therefore left the caravan, and in the company of four Jews, went along the Euphrates, and having crossed it, reached Bagdad on the 12th of September. In two days they proceeded with a caravan of 2000 persons to Shermachan, the first town in Persia, at which they halted. Being informed that a numerous gang of banditti infested the road to Ispahan, the caravan remained three weeks in this place. During their stay the missionaries were often applied to for medical advice. The governor, whose eyes had been put out, by order of Shach Nadir, applied to them to have his sight restored; but being told that this required miraculous power, such as God alone possessed, he was satisfied. Another patient, whom brother Rueffer had cured, evinced his gratitude by presenting them with two asses for their journey to Ispahan.

October 21st they proceeded with a caravan of about 600 persons, many of whom were well mounted and armed. On the 23rd they were attacked by a banditti of about 200 Curdes, a set of robbers, living in the neighbourhood of Shermachan. The horsemen, belonging to the caravan, after a few shots, retreated with all possible speed, leaving the rest an easy prey to the robbers. Both the missionaries were wounded in several places, plundered and stripped of all their clothes. From the place where this happened, they had to walk fifteen miles, in a burning sun and on a stony road. On their arrival, in the next town the two missionaries, who had been separated during the attack, again met each other. A Persian furnished them with a few articles of clothing, brought them to a house, and set some bread and grapes before them. They were thankful to be under cover, though pain and weariness prevented them from getting much sleep. For some days they prosecuted their journey without molestation, and by medical practice, procured a little bread and a few grapes. Their servant, Mirza, often expressed his surprise at their cheerfulness, being ignorant of the divine consolations and support they enjoyed. November 1st

they were again attacked by robbers, who plundered them nearly of all they had, only leaving a pair of drawers to brother Hocker, and a waistcoat to his companion. They had still a journey of nine days before them, during which they suffered the severest hardships, having seldom any food but bread and water, and considering it a charity when permitted to spend the night in a stable.

Having at length arrived at Ispahan, they put themselves under the protection of the English Resident, who showed them much kindness, and promised to promote their journey to the Gaures. But as the country continued in a state of anarchy and confusion, he and other friends endeavoured to dissuade them from proceeding any farther. After waiting half a year, in fruitless expectation of seeing tranquillity restored, they were forced to yield to imperious necessity, and relinquish their design of visiting the Gaures.

They left Ispahan in 1748; but had not travelled far, before the caravan was surprised and robbed. Thus they lost, a third time, all their property, and most of their clothes; and arrived ragged and in debt at Bender Busher. The Dutch Agent, in this place, took care of them, paid their debts, and forwarded them to Bassora. From here they proceeded to Egypt. While in Damietta brother Rueffer was taken ill, and departed this life July 26th 1749. Brother Hocker pursued his journey alone, and arrived in Europe in February 1750. (Per. Acct. Vol. i. p. 380—404.)

7. EGYPT. After his return from Persia, brother Hocker offered himself to make an attempt for carrying into effect the design, long entertained by the Brethren, of forming an acquaintance with the christian church in Abyssinia. To pave the way for this, he went in 1752 to Egypt, and hired a house in Grand Cairo. Here he practised as a physician, and applied himself to the acquisition of the Arabic language, endeavouring to obtain such information respecting Abyssinia, as might tend to promote the principal object of his mission. He commenced a correspondence with the Patriarch of the Copts, by whom the *Abuna*, or Metropolitan of Abyssinia

is consecrated. The Patriarch treated him with great kindness, entered into several conversations with him, concerning the Brethren's church, and the state of the Coptic and Abyssinian churches. To a letter, written to him by Count Zinzendorf, he returned an answer, in Arabic, of which the following is an extract: "In the name of the merciful and gracious God. In God is salvation. From Mark *, the servant of the servants of the Lord. The peace of our Lord God, and the Captain of our salvation Jesus Christ, which he, in an upper room at Zion, poured forth upon the assembly of excellent disciples and apostles. May he pour out this peace upon the beloved, excellent and experienced brother, the venerable bishop, our father Aloysius †, the liturgist of the Unity of the Brethren. This is to testify, beloved brother, that the blessed son and venerable deacon, Ireneus ‡ Hocker, has delivered unto us your letter, which was full of affectionate, cordial love. We have read it; and it became unto us a taste of your love for all christians. We, in like manner, pray God for you and for all the christian people, that he may exalt the glory of all the christians in the whole habitable world, through the nutrition of his life-giving cross." His mission being thus far favoured, he went in 1754, by way of Smyrna to Constantinople, for the purpose of furnishing himself with a *firman*, or pass, from the Grand Signior; and though the plague was raging in that city, he not only received a firman, but several recommendatory letters to persons of distinction, which might be serviceable to him on his intended expedition. With these he returned to Alexandria. While waiting, in this city, for a favourable opportunity to proceed, the Grand Signior died, and Egypt was convulsed by political disturbances. Hocker, therefore, sailed for Europe in May 1755. (Brethren's Hist. Vol. i. p. 433—437.)

But the year following he returned, accompanied by

* The patriarchs of the Copts, who have also the title of patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Abyssinia and Nubia, are all called after the Evangelist Mark, who is considered the founder of the church of Alexandria. This was Mark the hundred and sixth.

† Lewis, i. e. count Zinzendorf.

‡ Frederic, or in German Friederich, which signifies rich in peace.

George Pilder, a student of divinity from the Brethren's college in Saxony. Unable to leave Cairo for a whole year, they renewed the acquaintance, Hocker had formerly made with the patriarch, and were treated with distinguished kindness by him, and all the Coptic and Abyssinian clergy. The former publicly declared, "that he considered the Brethren as an ancient apostolical church, which had adhered to the pure doctrine of the Apostles, without engaging in those controversies, which afterwards arose." In 1758 they set out for Abyssinia; but after suffering shipwreck off the island of Hassanee, losing their medicine chest, and being in constant danger of attacks from the wild Arabs, they were obliged to relinquish their design, and return to Cairo. Pilder having contracted a dangerous illness, returned to Europe in 1759. Thither Hocker followed him in 1761, after another fruitless attempt to penetrate into Abyssinia. (*Brethren's History*, Vol. i. 489, and 615.)

Not discouraged by these repeated disappointments, brother Hocker once more returned to Egypt in 1769, accompanied by John Danke; and the following year they were joined by brother John Antes. During the political revolution, which, in the sequel, distracted this country, the missionaries were mercifully preserved, and, by close confinement within their house, escaped infection from the plague, which raged in 1771. The European inhabitants treated them with respect and kindness, and they continued their acquaintance with the Coptic patriarch, through whom they were introduced to the metropolitan of Abyssinia, John the 138th, who likewise expressed his good will towards them. But all the information, they could obtain from Abyssinia, convinced them that every attempt to visit that country, must prove unsuccessful.

Meanwhile, the missionaries unexpectedly found an opportunity of delivering a testimony of the gospel to the Copts, who inhabited several villages along the Nile. The first attempt of this kind was made by brother Danke, in 1770. After a difficult sail up the Nile, he arrived August 8th at Girge in Upper Egypt; but, as a company of Turkish soldiers soon after came into the town, and fixed their quarters in the same inn, where he

lodged, he had no opportunity of engaging in his missionary calling. The soldiers, however, treated him with great civility; and at the express command of the captain, he was entertained at their expense, and even ate and drank with them, a mark of respect, which Mahomedans very seldom show to any, who are not of their persuasion. The captain evinced his friendship for him in an affair of far greater importance, and which might have been attended with very serious consequences to him. Danke, being in the habit of reading in an Arabic translation of the New Testament and the Psalms, was accused of reading books, which condemned the Mahomedan religion. The captain, having, in a stern tone, demanded to see these books, read in them a considerable time, and then returned them to the missionary, with these words: "I find nothing in these books, but the pure word of God; you may read in them, without fear, by day and night." Addressing his accusers, he added, "I love this christian; every offence, therefore, which is committed against him, I shall consider as done to myself"

Towards the end of September brother Danke went to Benesse, an ancient town on the western bank of the Nile. On his subsequent visits to the Copts, he made this place his principal residence, from whence he itinerated through other villages. His reception among them was various. Some violently opposed him, because he denied the meritoriousness of fasts and good works, &c. Others expressed themselves much pleased with his doctrine: one of their chief priests even exhorted his parishioners to go and hear Danke, promising faithfully to assist him. He closed his life October 6th, 1772. (*Brethren's History*, Vol. ii. p. 163—175.)

In the sequel the brethren Antes and Wieniger repeated these visits; and in 1795 a small house was erected in Benesse for the accommodation of the missionaries, where they could lodge, and more conveniently meet those, who seemed disposed to listen to their testimony of the gospel. However, as no permanent success attended these exertions, as every prospect of penetrating into Abyssinia vanished, and the political state of Egypt became every year more alarming, the establishment at Cairo was relinquished, and those, employed in it, returned to Europe in 1782 and 1783. (*Brethren's Hist.* Vol. ii. p. 372—382.)

8. EAST INDIES. The Danes having formed a commercial establishment on the Nicobar Islands in the bay of Bengal, application was made to the Brethren, to settle a colony in those islands, and instruct the natives in christianity. Intelligence was soon after received at Copenhagen, that the first undertaking had miscarried, and that nearly all the colonists were dead. This, however, did not deter the Brethren from accepting the proposal, which had been made to them. Of this they informed the Asiatic Company and Court of Denmark, requesting liberty to form a settlement also at Tranquebar, in order to support the mission in the Nicobar islands from the coast of Coromandel. This request was readily granted, and a royal edict issued, conceding to them all the civil and religious privileges they had desired. As soon as this was known, many brethren offered themselves for this new undertaking; and in November 1759 fourteen of them sailed from Copenhagen, and arrived at Tranquebar the following July. Brother Geo. John Stahlman was appointed superintendent of the mission, and two students, Adam Gottlieb Voelker and Christopher Butler, were directed to apply themselves to the acquisition of the Malabar and Portuguese languages. The rest were intended to care for the external support of the establishment. Soon after their arrival they purchased a piece of ground, about a mile from the town, erected the necessary buildings, and called it *THE BRETHREN'S GARDEN*. They were successful in their trades, and in the cultivation of their land; enjoying the countenance of government, and the friendship of the European inhabitants. (*Brethren's History*, Vol. i. p. 904, and c. 14.)

In 1768 six brethren went to *NANCAWEERY*, one of the Nicobar islands, where the Danish Asiatic Company had formed a commercial establishment. But as it did not answer the expectations of the Company, they, in 1771, withdrew the few surviving colonists, the greater number of them having previously fallen a sacrifice to the insalubrity of the climate. The missionaries being thus left alone, and all communication cut off between them and Tranquebar, it became needful to purchase a vessel to supply them with provisions and other necessaries. But this was attended, not only with great expense, but also

with many difficulties and dangers; and as the gospel found no entrance among the natives, the establishment was finally relinquished in 1787.

The prospect in Tranquebar was equally discouraging. The missionaries in the BRETHREN'S GARDEN preached both in the Malabar and Portuguese languages, but they had few hearers, and no success seemed to attend their labours. Their hopes were a little revived, when in 1774 they had the pleasure of baptizing a Malabar, Kutti, whom they called John; but his conduct, in the sequel, did not give them much satisfaction.

At the request of the Danish Asiatic Company, two missionaries went in 1777 to Bengal, and settled near Serampore. And a few years after Mr. Livius made them a present of a garden and some houses, near Calcutta, where one or two missionaries resided for some time. They baptized a female Malabar slave on her death-bed, and had hopes, that she departed in the faith of the gospel. Another slave, whom they admitted to this rite, afterwards apostatized; but her daughter, who had been baptized in infancy, remained faithful. This discouraging state of the East India mission, the great and seemingly fruitless expense attending it, and several other circumstances, induced the Brethren to abandon this station towards the close of the last century. It must, however, be observed, that, though this mission has scarce furnished one solitary instance of the power of the gospel in turning the heathen from their dumb idols to serve the true and living God; yet it supplies abundant proof of the patient self-denial, and persevering zeal of those, who laboured in it, as well as of piety, and devotedness to God in those, who were found willing to occupy the places of such, as had sacrificed their lives in this hopeless service. (Further details of this mission, and of the hardships endured by the missionaries, may be read in Letters on the Nicobar Islands, and in Brethren's History, Vol. ii. iii. and iv.)

9. TOBAGO. At the request of Mr. Hamilton, a gentleman of considerable property and influence on the island, brother Montgomery, one of the missionaries in

Barbadoes, paid a visit to Tobago in 1789. He was very hospitably entertained by Mr. Hamilton, and his undertaking patronised by several other gentlemen, who promoted the attendance of their slaves on the instructions of the missionary. They indeed came to the sermons; but more from obedience to their masters, than from any apparent desire of being instructed in christianity. Having returned to Barbadoes, to arrange his affairs, brother Montgomery and his wife, in 1790, took up their residence in Tobago; but both of them closed their valuable lives the following year. This, and the unsettled state of the island, in consequence of the French revolution, and insurrectionary movements among the slaves, occasioned a temporary suspension of this mission.

After the cession of this island to the British, Mr. Hamilton and other planters, in very pressing terms, renewed their application to the Brethren for missionaries to instruct their Negroes. Brother Charles Schirmer having been appointed to this service, he and his wife arrived in Tobago on the 23d of January 1799. Agreeably to arrangements, made by Mr. Hamilton, they occupied a house on one of his estates, called *Riseland*. The promising prospect of this mission induced the directors to increase the number of labourers; and brother John Church, hitherto minister of the Brethren's congregation in Bath, proceeded, with his wife, to Tobago in 1800. A few months before their arrival, brother Schirmer had removed from *Riseland* to *SIGNAL HOUSE*, where, besides a dwelling for the missionaries, there was a building, which was fitted up for a chapel.

Every thing seemed to favour this new undertaking. The colonial government, and most of the planters and managers promoted the instruction of their slaves; and these attended the sermons in considerable numbers, showing much apparent eagerness to be instructed; so that during the first year twenty were admitted to baptism. In the sequel, however, it became evident, that many of them were more solicitous to have the external rite performed, than desirous to be made partakers of renovation of heart and life by faith in Jesus. A serious and critical illness;

which repeatedly attacked brother Church, obliged him to return to England in 1803. The death of Mr. Hamilton, and several other gentlemen, who had been the chief supporters of the mission, connected with other unfavourable circumstances, afterwards rendered it necessary to suspend this mission. Between fifty and sixty Negroes had been baptized by our brethren, during their residence in this island. (Brethren's History, Vol. iv. p. 31—36; and 473—475. Per. Acc. Vol. i. ii. and iii.)

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

IT would be foreign to the design of this work to enter into a detailed exposition of the Doctrine and Constitution of the Brethren's Church; yet a few notices on these subjects, as far as they affect the missions, will probably not be unacceptable to the reader.

With regard to the DOCTRINE preached by the missionaries, little need be added to the information, which the reader must have obtained by the perusal of the preceding sketches. Long experience has taught the Brethren, that the doctrine of *Christ crucified is the power and wisdom of God unto salvation to every one that believeth*. Without, therefore, first endeavouring to prepare the minds of the heathen for the reception of the gospel, by instructing them in natural religion, they at once declare unto them *the record that God gave of his Son*. This they have found, whenever received in faith, to be the most efficacious means of turning the gentiles from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. Yet, there is no part of revealed Truth, whether of doctrine or practice, which the missionaries do not endeavour to inculcate on the minds and hearts of their hearers and converts. In a word, their constant aim is, *To humble the sinner, to exalt the Saviour, and promote holiness*.

The INTERNAL regulations are the same in every mission. Besides preaching the gospel, the missionaries are diligently employed in visiting the heathen in their dwellings, or in receiving visits from them, for the purpose of discoursing with them, in a familiar manner, on spiritual subjects, or administering comfort, advice, or reproof, as the case may require. If any heathen are led to serious reflection, and desire their names to be put down for further instruction, they are called *New people*, and reckoned to the class of *catechumens*. If they remain steadfast in their resolution to forsake heathenism, and in their desire

after baptism, they are considered as *Candidates for baptism*: and, after previous instruction respecting this ordinance, are baptized. If their conduct afterwards proves that they have not received the grace of God in vain, they become *Candidates for the Communion*, and are admitted to be present as spectators at the celebration of the Lord's Supper; and finally become *Communicants*. Those who have been baptized in infancy, and, on attaining to years of maturity, give satisfactory evidence of the sincerity of their faith, are first solemnly received as members of the congregation, and then admitted to the Lord's Supper. Separate meetings are held with each of these divisions. This is likewise done with other divisions of the congregation, with the children, the single men, the single women, the married people, the widowers and widows. These meetings, besides affording the missionaries an opportunity of instructing them, in a practical manner, in those precepts of the gospel, which have a more immediate reference to their circumstances, and in exhorting them to make their calling and election sure, have a pleasing tendency to cement the bond of brotherly love, and maintain the spirit of unity among all the members of the congregation.

In most missions, especially when the number of converts is very large, *Assistants* are chosen, consisting of persons of both sexes, whose good understanding and exemplary conduct have made them respected by the whole congregation. In the discharge of their duty they have particular districts assigned them, in which they visit the people from house to house, attend to the poor, the sick and infirm, endeavour to remove dissensions, and promote harmony, &c. They are occasionally employed to keep meetings on week-days, and to preach in the out-places; but hitherto the Brethren have not *ordained* any of the natives for the regular ministry of the gospel. The *Assistants*, at stated times, meet the missionaries in conference, to report to them, and receive their counsel and advice. *Servants* are also appointed to have the care of the chapel, and attend to every thing relating to external order. A *Council*, consisting of a number of persons, chosen by the whole congregation, meets occasionally to confer on all subjects, involving the general welfare of the congregation, or settlement.

The **EXTERNAL** regulations cannot be the same in all the Missions. Among *free* heathen, as in Greenland, North America, South Africa, &c. most of the converts live together in regular settlements; and thus various regulations, tending to promote, not only their progress in spiritual knowledge, but also their improvement in civilization, and their enjoyment of its comforts, can be introduced in these villages, which are rendered impracticable in missions among *Negro* slaves. In the latter case, little can be done in keeping schools; but in all the settlements, this important method of instruction is attended to with great regularity. In all the missions social worship is performed every day, either in the morning or evening, and on sundays the missionaries are employed, from morning till night, in preaching, meeting the different divisions of the congregation, and in attending to their converts, or heathen visitors.

In the exercise of **DISCIPLINE** no difference finds place, the Brethren justly considering that the breach of any moral precept is as criminal in a slave as in a free man, and that no situation, or prevalence of custom, can sanction a pretext for disobedience to the rule of Christ, as contained in the bible. The discipline admits of different degrees according to the nature of the offence, and consists, either in exclusion from the meetings of the baptized, or in suspension from the Lord's Supper, or in total separation from the church. In performing this duty the missionaries endeavour to act in the spirit of meekness, exercising all possible forbearance and patience, and never proceeding to a public exposure of the offender, while there is any reasonable hope, that he will be brought to repentance and change of conduct, by remonstrance and private exhortation. Even, when the offence has been of such a nature, as to render exclusion necessary, they do not treat the lapsed person as an enemy, but entreat him as a brother, endeavouring to convince him, that the very exercise of discipline is an act of kindness, intended, by the grace of God, to preserve him from the fatal self-deception of being a christian, merely because he hath the name, and associates with believers, while

he is living in known sin, and a stranger to true conversion of heart. The readmission of such a person, therefore, is not granted, till he has given satisfactory proofs of true repentance.

The general SUPERINTENDENCE of the Missions is properly vested in the *Synods of the Brethren's Church*, which consists of representatives from all the congregations. But, as a Synod is only convened occasionally, it is necessary to provide for the due administration of the Brethren's Church during the interval. And for this purpose the Synod, before its dissolution, nominates several bishops and elders to constitute a *Board*, called the *Elder's Conference of the Unity*, to have the general superintendence and direction of all the congregations, missions and other establishments of the Brethren's Church. This Board is, by the Synod, invested with the sole right of beginning, or suspending missions, and appointing missionaries. The Brethren's Society for the furtherance of the gospel among the heathen, established in London, and similar societies formed in Holland and North America, act in subordination to the Elder's Conference of the Unity, whose sanction is requisite before any proposed measure for the beginning of a new mission, the appointment of missionaries, &c. can be carried into effect.

In the church of the Brethren the MISSIONARY SERVICE is, in the strictest sense, voluntary. No persuasions are used to induce any person to engage in it, who has not previously expressed, in a letter to the directors, his wish to be thus employed. And even then, all the privations, difficulties and dangers, attending the life of a missionary, are fully and candidly represented to him. If, after maturely weighing all circumstances, his resolution remains fixed, he is considered as a *candidate* for the service; and in case he has expressed a predilection for any particular mission, or branch of the service, due attention is paid to his wishes. And after all, he is left at full liberty, either to accept or decline any proposal, which may have been made to him.

Besides the indispensable requisite of personal piety, and love for the service in which they engage, the qualifications deemed essential to a missionary of the Brethren's church, consist in a ready knowledge of the Scriptures, and a good natural understanding, in some degree improved by education, combined with a kind and affable disposition, calculated to conciliate the affection of the heathen. No stress is laid on profound erudition. Long experience has taught the Brethren, that the habits of a student do not, in general, qualify a person so well, for the laborious life of a missionary, as those of a mechanic. Yet the superior talents of men of learning are justly appreciated, as having, in many instances, been of essential use, especially in those missions, where a new language was to be acquired, and translations made.

The Brethren have no permanent **FUND** for their missions. In the beginning, count Zinzendorf and his lady supported them almost entirely at their own expense; and even in subsequent years the count devoted nearly the whole of his property in undertaking, or aiding measures for the diffusion of the gospel. Since then the missions of the Brethren have been maintained wholly by voluntary contributions. Notwithstanding the utmost frugality is used, both by the directors and the missionaries, the annual expenditure is very considerable, having been greatly increased during the late war. Not only were all the expenses attending the equipment and voyages of missionaries, and the maintenance of the different settlements, more than doubled; but the disorganized and impoverished state of the continent of Europe, occasioned a large diminution in the contributions of our brethren and friends from that quarter. The missionary fund was in consequence burthened with a very heavy debt; a considerable part of it, however, has been liquidated by the generous liberality of many sincere friends in Great Britain and Ireland, who, though not members of the Brethren's church, take a very cordial and active interest in the prosperity of their missions.

The preceding sketches supply ample proof of the self-denial, zeal and diligence, with which the missionaries perform the important and arduous work in which they are engaged. Their duties are many and various. Besides the public ministry of the gospel and its ordinances, they are daily employed either in keeping school, and visiting their converts, or in attending to the temporal concerns of the settlement. In keeping school and visiting they are faithfully assisted by the sisters, as far as relates to their own sex; who, besides, have the management of the domestic concerns of the family. In every mission one of the brethren is generally chosen superintendent; yet he never acts without the concurrence of his fellow-missionaries.

The number of missionaries employed by the Church of the Brethren, at the close of 1817, amounted to 86; and, including the Sisters, 152 persons were engaged in this service. They occupied 34 settlements, or stations, viz. 3 in Greenland, 3 in Labrador, 3 in North America, 4 in South America, 17 in the West Indies, 2 in South Africa, and preparations were making for a third, and 1 station among the Calmucs in Tartary. About thirty thousand persons, formerly living in heathen ignorance and superstition are now instructed in christianity by the Brethren's missionaries; besides a great number of regular attendants on their public ministry, who have not yet made a decided profession of the gospel, or requested more special instruction.

To all, who from the heart long and pray for the extension of Christ's kingdom in the world, it must be a source of the sincerest gratification, and of the warmest gratitude to God, that He hath preserved in the Church of the Brethren the same zeal for the conversion of the heathen, which stimulated their first attempts, so that persons have never been wanting, ready to engage in the missionary service, notwithstanding all its privations and difficulties; and that the same spirit hath, of late years,

